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**THE ENCOUNTER AND INTERACTION OF THE GRECO-ROMAN
THOUGHT AND CONFUCIAN THOUGHT IN MATTEO RICCI'S *JIAO YOU*
*LUN***

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ABSTRACT

Matteo Ricci, as the pioneer of Sino-western cultural exchanges, introduced the western science in China, and translated the Confucian classics into Latin. Through Matteo Ricci a substantial communication between the Chinese and the western world started. Given his scientific knowledge, Matteo Ricci gained a great reputation in China. The Chinese literati regarded him as a well-educated scholar rather than a missionary. After thirteen years he first entered China, by means of ethical writings Matteo Ricci was able to integrate into the spiritual world of the Chinese literati. In his ethical writings, the Greco-Roman thought encountered Confucian thought. The interaction of these two thoughts in ethical field is reflected in Matteo Ricci's 交友论. This work will be analysed and discussed in the thesis.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, along with the rise of Comparative history, comparative research method has obtained the attention of many scholars. The civilizations of East and West frequently become the subject of joint research, as it is the case with the comparison between the Roman and Han Empires. The current comparative perspective is mostly based on the political and economic institutions; therefore a large space of study is left in the ethical sphere.

The 16th and 17th centuries, when ‘Western learning’ reached the peak in the eastern-western cultural exchanges, provided the best background for a comparative study in the ethical sphere.

When western culture arrived in China, through Matteo Ricci Chinese culture and social situation were also introduced in the western world. He is the first man who translated The Four Books (*Si Shu*) for Europe¹. Matteo Ricci as the pioneer of Chinese and Western cultural communication was not only educated under the influence of classical culture and humanism, he also mastered traditional Chinese language and Confucian doctrine. Through the long-term contacts with Chinese scholar-bureaucrats, a deep understanding of traditional Chinese culture was formed in his mind. Actually, Matteo Ricci is the best example for the study of Chinese and Western cultural interaction.

Since the 1970s, the study of Matteo Ricci has been widely developed in China. From the beginning, Chinese scholars mainly focused on the evaluation of the Jesuit Matteo Ricci, and most of the research dealt his missionary activities and influences. Mr. Feng Tianyu's article ‘Jesuit Matteo Ricci and others’ activities in China’² may be considered as representative of this trend of study. Another trend is represented by the textual translation, reorganization, examination and verification. In 1983, Zhonghua

¹ M.Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Quodlibet, Macerata, 2000.

² Feng Tianyu, *Jesuit Matteo Ricci and others’ activities in China*, Jiangnan Forum, 1979, (4):68-76.

Press published *Li Madou Zhongguo Zha Ji*¹, whose Latin title is *Regni Chinensis Descriptio*. Although it was translated from the English version of *Nicolas Trigault*, it still was the first translation in Chinese in this field. In 1986 Taiwan Fu Jen Catholic and KPS jointly published *Li Madou Quan Ji*², which included 4 volumes, vol.1-2 was the translation of *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu*, vol. 3-4 contained all the letters written by Matteo Ricci. For the first time, in this collection the translation was made directly from the Italian *Fonti Ricciane*³. In 2001, *Li Madou Zhong Wen Zhu Yi Ji*⁴ was published, in which all the Chinese writings of Matteo Ricci were compiled.

Early researches have laid the textual foundation for future studies. Over the past decade the analysis of Matteo Ricci's activities in China was carried out from many aspects. He was inevitably incorporated into the field of social history, regional history and religious history. The research on Matteo Ricci was also based on a cross-disciplinary, multifaceted observation, applying sociological, hermeneutic, and linguistic analysis as auxiliary methods.

Following the development of research, the comparison between Catholicism and Confucianism was deeply appreciated by the Chinese scholars. Sun Shangyang's book *Jidu Jiao Yu Ming Mo Ru Xue*⁵ accomplished a significant exploration. The book focuses on the communication and conflict between Catholicism and Confucianism, reveals the pros and differences between Ricci and Xu Guangqi, Yang Tingyun, and elaborates the reasons that help them achieve mutual respect and understanding. From then on, research about Matteo Ricci has moved towards the comparison of Chinese and Western religion, philosophy, and ideology, showing Chinese scholars'

¹ Matteo Ricci, Nicolas Trigault, and Gaoji He, *Della Entrata Della Compagnia Di Giesù E Christianità Nella Cina*. Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1983.

² Matteo Ricci, Junyu Liu, Yuchuan Wang, Yu Luo, *Complete Works of Matteo Ricci*, Taipei: Guang qi press, 1986.

³ *Fonti Ricciane*, documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579-1615). Editi e commentate da Pasquale. M. D'Elia, S. I. Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1942-49.8. Vol. Clxxxvii, 386 (2,000 copies); xxxv, 652 (Lire, 8,000; 1,500 copies); xi, 372 (Lire 5,000; 1,5000 copies).

⁴ Matteo Ricci, Weizheng Zhu, and Zhifeng Deng, *Collection of Matteo Ricci's Chinese treatises*, Xiang gang: Xianggang cheng shi da xue press, 2001.

⁵ Sun, Shangyang. *The Christianity and the Chinese literati in the late Ming Dynasty*, Beijing: Dong fang press, 1994.

re-orientation from the textual and historical analysis to the theoretical exploration. In short, the comparison of Chinese and Western culture became an important tendency of research.

In the long tradition of research on Matteo Ricci, among foreign scholars, the Italians gave outstanding contributions in this field. Italian sinologist Pasquale D'Elia provided the entire comments and annotations on Ricci's *Complete Geographical Map of all the Kingdoms of the World*¹; he also reorganized Ricci's all literatures by the name *Fonti Ricciane*², providing a foundation for relevant research.

*The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*³ was written by contemporary American Sinologist Jonathan Spence. He used four Chinese characters and four religious pictures to construct the framework of his book. The elements gathered occasionally offered a series of clues for the whole memory palace. In this way Spence built up a convergence of two great civilizations, through which we could enter the memory palace of Matteo Ricci, to see his sensibility and reaction in an unknown world. Sometimes he was strong-minded; sometimes he was at a loss. This innovative research method, as well as the author's excellent insight makes this book very interesting from the philosophical point of view.

Christopher Spalatin's doctoral dissertation *Matteo Ricci's Use of Epictetus*⁴ turned the perspective to the classical thoughts that were embodied in Ricci's writings. He tried to reveal the reflection of Stoicism via *Twenty Five sentences*⁵. Above all, he centralized the integration of Stoic thought, Confucianism and Catholicism. Margherita Redaelli in her book *Il Mappamondo Con La Cina Al Centro: Fonti*

¹ Pasquale M Elia, and Matteo Ricci. *Il Mappamondo Cinese Del P. Matteo Ricci* S.i. Terza Edizione, Pechino, 1602. Conservato Presso La Biblioteca Vaticana. [reproductions.] Commentato, Tradotto E Annotato Dal Pasquale M. D'Elia, Etc. Pp. xxvi. 273. pl. XXX. Città Del Vaticano, 1938.

² Pasquale M Elia, and Matteo Ricci. *Fonti Ricciane: Documenti Originali Concernenti Matteo Ricci E La Storia Delle Prime Relazioni Tra L'europa E La Cina (1579-1615)*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1942.

³ Jonathan D Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. New York, N.Y: Viking Penguin, 1984.

⁴ Christopher A Spalatin, Matteo Ricci. *Matteo Ricci's Use of Epictetus*. Waegwan, Korea, 1975.

⁵ Matteo Ricci, Andrew Chung. *Twenty Five Sentences*. Beijing: Beijing da xue zong jiao yan jiu suo, 2000.

*Antiche E Mediazione Culturale Nell'opera Di Matteo Ricci S.J*¹, listed and translated two main ethical writings of Ricci: *Twenty Five sentences* and *Ten Paradoxes*. However the relative analysis and interpretation are still insufficient.

Through study and research, it can be easily seen that Ricci's writings, in particular his ethical books, constantly referred to the Greco-Roman and humanistic thoughts. Classical philosophy, ethics and proverbs were used by Ricci in order to further elaborate his opinions. His ethical books achieved great success in China; the acceptance expressed by Chinese scholar-bureaucrats manifested the interaction of Western thoughts and Confucianism, and the validity of the Jesuit's cultural accommodation strategy. To sum up, both the spread of classical culture in China, and the intersection of the Greco-Roman thought and traditional Confucianism are worth of receiving full attention. Moreover in this research field a sufficient space is left for independent and innovative study.

Matteo Ricci wrote three ethical books in Chinese: *Treatise on Friendship* (Nanchang 1595)², *Twenty Five sentences* (Beijing 1605)³, *Ten Paradoxes* (Beijing 1608)⁴.

Treatise on Friendship is Ricci's first ethical writing in Chinese language. After suffering a failure missionary experience, Ricci re-oriented his approach, through a more acceptable way to advocate his ideas. According to Fang Hao, *Treatise on Friendship* collected the sentences from twenty-eight writers which included *Lysis* by Plato, *Ethics* by Aristotle, *Odes* by Horace, *Laelius de Amicitia* by Cicero etc, the mottos used by Ricci were taken from twenty-three kinds of ancient writings⁵. This book was very successful. It fulfilled the tastes and needs of Chinese scholar-bureaucrats, and he started to build good reputation in China.

¹ Margherita Redaelli, *Il Mappamondo Con La Cina Al Centro: Fonti Antiche E Mediazione Culturale Nell'opera Di Matteo Ricci S.j.* Pisa: ETS, 2007.

² Matteo Ricci, and Filippo Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005.

³ Matteo Ricci, Andrew Chung, *Twenty Five Sentences*. Beijing: Beijing da xue zong jiao yan jiu suo, 2000.

⁴ Matteo Ricci, *Chong Ke Ji Ren Shi Pian: Fu Xi Qin Qu Yi* : Jinan: Qi Lu shu she, 1997.

⁵ Fang, Hao. *New Research of Matteo Ricci's Treatise on Friendship*, Taipei: Xue Sheng Shu Ju, 1969.

Italian scholar Filippo Mignini in *Dell'amicizia*¹ has listed all the versions of Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*, and he pointed out that the Confucian thought influenced Matteo Ricci's ethical writings. Apparently, his analysis in the comparison field still leaves us a huge space.

The Chinese scholars mostly researched this ethical treatise from an ethical perspective, such as the article of Chen Deng: *A Research on the Ethical Viewpoints of Matteo Ricci*. The encounter of Confucian thought and Greco-Roman thought in Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* should deserve more attention.

Therefore, this article will use Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* as a research example, and try to analyze how the Greco-Roman thought and Confucian thought encounter each other in Ricci's essay. The historical background must be taken into consideration, and then we could understand in which kind of social environment he wrote this ethical book and why the Chinese literati accepted and admired it. In order to understand the Greco-Roman thought in Ricci's book, his education background must be studied.

This article will be divided into four chapters:

The first chapter will make a brief introduction of Matteo Ricci, talk about his influences and achievements under the historical background of 'western learning'. And then his educational background will be analyzed.

The second chapter focuses on the image of China in Matteo Ricci's eyes. His understanding of China and Chinese people influenced Matteo Ricci's activities. And his *Treatise on Friendship* was written in this social atmosphere.

The third chapter will discuss Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*. Through the textual analysis, I will try to find out how the Greco-Roman thought encountered the Confucian doctrine, and how Ricci made them integrate with each other.

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di Filippo Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005.

CHAPTER I

PIONEER OF THE SINO—WESTERN CULTURAL EXCHANGES

1.1 Matteo Ricci and the ‘Western Learning’

Introducing the Western Learning to the east is one of the most significant periods for the Sino-western cultural exchange. In 16th and 17th century, along with the new geographical discoveries, the western science and technology were introduced into Chinese by the missionaries. Western philosophy, astronomy, physics, chemistry, medicine, biology, geography, political science, sociology, economics, law, applied science and technology, history, literature and art were brought into China, having profound impacts on Chinese society. Matteo Ricci initiated a movement of ‘introducing the Western Learning to the East’. He also was the first man who opened the door of cultural communication for China. As the pioneer of the Sino-western exchange, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) made significant contributions to the development of Chinese science and technology. Through Matteo Ricci’s writings, the Europeans learned more about China.

When Matteo Ricci entered China, in a society without religious tradition, and facing the anti-foreigner nationality, the only way to gain the favour of Chinese literati was introducing the western science and technology. Compared with his religious theory, the western science and technology was more acceptable and attractive for the Chinese scholars.

In his 28 years’ missionary experience, Matteo Ricci brought the western astronomy, mathematics, geography, cartography, medical science, architecture, and ethics into China. All these were helpful to broaden the horizon of the Chinese intellectuals and enrich the Chinese culture and science. The new factors that poured into had great influence on the development of Chinese modern science.

In fact, Matteo Ricci’s writings and translations were mainly related to two fields: one field is the western science; another field is the ethics, morality and religion.

His scientific achievements were mainly reflected in several fields.

① Mathematics.

‘Beginning with the Jesuits’ first school in Messina, mathematics had an important place in the curriculum’¹. When Matteo Ricci studied in Jesuit school, the most famous mathematician Christopher Clavius was in charge for the mathematician and astronomic education. The study of mathematics always was accompanied by several applied disciplines, such as astronomy, geography, and cartography which was a science of measuring space and time². According to Ratio Studiorum, the professor of mathematics ‘should spend about three quarters of an hour of class time in explaining the elements of Euclid to the students of physic. After two months, when his students are somewhat familiar with the subject, he should add some geography or astronomy or similar matter which the students enjoy hearing about. This added material is to be given on the same day with Euclid or alternate days’³. It could be seen that the elements of Euclid was the teaching program. Since its remarkable influence, later on Matteo Ricci translated Euclid's *Elements* (the first six volumes) into Chinese with the cooperation of Chinese scholar.

Euclid's *Elements* (the first six volumes) and *Tong Wen Suan Zhi* (同文算指) were two representative mathematical and geometric contributions of Matteo Ricci.

In mathematics, as dependent author, co-author, or as the translator, Matteo Ricci published many books including: *Qian Kun Ti Yi* (乾坤体义), Euclid's *Elements* (几何原本), *Yuan Rong Jiao Yi* (圆容较义), *Tong Wen Suan Zhi* (同文算指), *Ce Liang Fa Yi* (测量法义)⁴ etc.

¹ J. W. O' Malley, *the Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006. p. 326.

² M. Ricci, a cura di Filippo Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 8.

³ A. P. Farrell, *the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*. Washington, D.C: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970. p. 46.

⁴ Jiang, Wenhan, *The Jesuits of Ming and Qing Dynasty in China*, ngyhai: Zhi shi press, 1987. p. 28.

Ricci and Xu Guangqi cooperated to translate Euclid's Elements into Chinese; this was the first time that Ricci systematically introduced the mathematical knowledge of ancient Greece in China. Euclid's Elements had important effects on the development of Chinese mathematic and geometry. And Euclid's Elements was the first western science book which was translated by missionaries, on account of its impacts, Ricci made his outstanding contribution for the Chinese mathematical development.

Euclid's Elements is a mathematical and geometric treatise consisting of 13 volumes attributed to the ancient Greek mathematician Euclid in Alexandria in 300 BC. It was the first model to establish a strict interpretation of the mathematical axiom system, whose main characteristic is the strict geometric system, and put forward several arguments methods. According to the strict logic prove, it derived 467 propositions from the 10 axioms¹. Till now, it has been the standard textbook of geometry teaching in the world. Its introduction not only has an important impact for Chinese mathematics, but also for Chinese astronomy, calendar, water conservancy, military, construction, measurement, mechanical, drawing, vocal music, and medicine . This is because mathematics is the foundation of all the science².

In the process of translation, they used the Latin version of *Elements* from Christopher Clavius as a blueprint. Christopher Clavius added his annotation to this version which contained 15 volumes. Ricci studied mathematics with Clavius at the Collegio Romano³. Ricci bought *Elements* in China, hoping to translate it into Chinese, but he was afraid that his language barriers would affect the textual expression. So Xu Guangqi jointed to him, they translated the *Elements* together. From the autumn of 1606, Ricci dictated, Xu made notes. They started to translate the first six volumes. In the next year, after finishing the translation, they published it.

They revised the translation for several time, in order to express the meaning of

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Quodlibet, Macerata, 2000. p. 181.

² M. Ricci, Junyu Liu, Yuchuan Wang, Yu Luo (edit) , *Complete Works of Matteo Ricci*, Taibei : Guang qi press, 1986. p.250.

³ M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. p. 10.

the original text. Finally after three times of revisions, their translation showed a real high level of literal expression.

In Ancient China there was no geometry. In Euclid's *Elements* Ricci tried to promote the functions of geometry in order to arouse Chinese people's interest in mathematics. He listed the usage of mathematics: measuring the world, predicting climate, making weapons, making machinery, making maps and even can be widely used in politics, finance, medicine, agriculture, and commerce.

Euclid's *Elements* contains not only geometry, as well as mathematical knowledge. It constructed a strict system of logical structure. Chinese traditional mathematics never built this logical system. The disadvantage of Chinese ancient mathematics was lacking logic¹. The Chinese mathematicians were good at solving problems, but had no capacity of demonstration or explaining it with theoretical analyse.

The publication of Euclid's *Elements* promoted the development of Chinese mathematics and made the Chinese mathematicians begin to accept Western mathematics. This mathematical treatise occupied a very important position in the history of Chinese mathematics.

Ricci collaborated with Li Zhi zao, based on Christopher Clavius' *Epitome arithmeticae practicae*, they translated *Tong Wen Suan Zhi* (同文算指), *Yuan Rong Jiao Yi* (圆容较义) and *Ou Luo Ba Xi Jing Lu* (欧罗巴西镜录)². The Western Arithmetic was formally introduced into China, providing a strong impetus to the development of ancient Chinese arithmetic.

Tong Wen Suan Zhi (同文算指) included four operations with fractions. Ricci dictated the content, Li Zhi zao made the notes, they published it in 1614. This book

¹ Zhang Cuo, *The comparison between western and Chinese culture: The confucianization of Matteo Ricci and other aspects*. Xiang gang: Xianggang cheng shi da xue press, 2002. p.14.

² Jiang Wenhan, *The Jesuits of Ming and Qing Dynasty in China*, Shanghai: Zhi shi press, 1987. p. 28.

symbolized the beginning of European mathematics' spread into China¹. For the first time, the western written calculation methods were introduced in China. As one of the most ancient arithmetic books, it supplemented ancient Chinese mathematic system. All these books translated by Matteo Ricci and other Chinese scholar greatly promoted the development of Chinese modern mathematics.

② Astronomy

Ricci's contribution to Chinese astronomy was mainly reflected in his writings, in the transmission and production of astronomical instruments, also in observing solar eclipse and lunar eclipse. In addition, Ricci taught Chinese people the western astronomy knowledge and helped the Chinese literati revise the calendars².

Ricci wrote three astronomy books in Chinese including *Jing Tian gai* (经天该), *Qian Kun Ti Yi* (乾坤体义) and *Hun Gai Tong Xian Tu Shuo* (浑盖通宪图说). These three books for the first time introduced the western system of universe in China.

Jing Tian gai (经天该) compiled the astronomical knowledge and stars into verse, so that Chinese people could remember it easily.

Qian Kun Ti Yi (乾坤体义) was completed in 1605, which was divided into upper and lower volumes. The upper volume talked about the production of eclipses and the proportion between seven luminaries and the earth.

Ricci also taught Li Zhi zao the western astronomy and mathematic knowledge, they wrote a introductive book of western astronomy-- *Hun Gai Tong Xian Tu Shuo* (浑盖通宪图说).

Except these books, Ricci also brought many astronomical instruments in China, such as: globes, sundials, armillary sphere and hylocereus etc, among which sundials were the most. Ricci became the first person who made western astronomical

¹ Yang Shougang, *Matteo Ricci and Chinese Modern Science*, Master Thesis, Harbin Normal University, 2011, p. 28.

² Yang Shougang, *Matteo Ricci and Chinese Modern Science*, Master Thesis, Harbin Normal University, 2011, p. 29.

instruments in China. All these astronomical instruments were mainly sent to the Chinese literati as a gift, in this way Ricci expanded his influence and reputation.

‘On September 1st 1629, an imperial edict ordered the creation of a new calendrical office, with Xu Guangqi as its director, to undertake the reform of the Chinese calendar in accordance with the Western methods’¹, a group of missionaries made a new calendar *Chong Zhen LI Shu* (崇禎历书) which was published in 1634. This new calendar laid a foundation of the calendar in three hundred later. The *Chong Zhen LI Shu* (崇禎历书) absorbed the essence of Ricci’s astronomical writings and made Chinese calendar more accurate. *Chong Zhen LI Shu* (崇禎历书) was used as a official calendar for about three hundred years after its first application.

③ Geography

Ricci was regarded as the first person who spread modern geography knowledge in China. With the promotion of the geographical discoveries, Geography and cartography were developed in 16th century.

Ricci introduced the Spherical Earth theory to the Chinese people. The world map made by Ricci helped him to gain the popularity. Some scholar even considered that his reputation was firstly built by the world map².

According to John D Day, Matteo Ricci prepared four editions of Chinese world maps during his mission in China before 1603: the first version of 1584, it was a woodblock print made in Zhaoqing, called *Yudi Shanhai Quantu*; the second version of 1596, the map was carved on a stele, usually named *Shanhai Yudi Tu*; the third version of 1600, it was a revised version of 1596, named *Shanhai Yudi Quantu*; the fourth edition of 1602 was a larger and refined edition of the 1584, named *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*³.

¹ M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. p. 283.

² Jiang Xiaoyuan, *KaiPu Le Tian Ti Yin Li Si Xiang Zai Zhong Guo*, Kelper’s celestial gravitation thought in China, *Studies in the History of Natural Science*, Vol.6. No.2. (1987).

³ J.D. Day, *the Search for the Origins of the Chinese Manuscript of Matteo Ricci's Maps*, *Imago Mundi*. 47.1 (1995): 94-117.

Through these maps, Chinese people changed their original geographical concept. Ricci's maps broke Chinese 'round Heaven and square Earth' conception, broadened Chinese people's horizon, and made them to observe the world from a global vision.

④ other writings of Matteo Ricci

Except the scientific writings and translations, during his twenty eight years missionary experience, Matteo Ricci also showed his knowledge about humanistic disciplines.

He was the first one who introduced the western science and technology in China; moreover, he also was the first one who introduced Confucian classics in Europe.

In his notes ¹Matteo Ricci constructed a reliable and true image of China. He introduced every aspect of China; in particular, he elaborated the Confucian doctrine in detail. For the first time, the Europeans learnt China at a spiritual and moral level. After being published, *Della entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina* aroused a trend of studying Chinese culture.

Because Ricci had a deep understanding of Confucianism, and after several years of study, he already mastered the Chinese, so he was able to translate four books into Latin.

In 1595, Ricci wrote his first ethical essay in Chinese, which was not only a translation of western book, or a introduction of one material. Compared with his previous writings, *Treatise on Friendship* started to reveal the influence of confucianism on him. In 1605 Ricci finishedn *Twenty Five sentences*², and in 1608, *Ten Paradoxes* was published.³ These three ethical treatises reflected the interaction of Greco-Roman thought with Confucian thought.

As a bridge of Sino-western cultural exchanges, through Ricci's writings and translations, these two civilizations started to make the substantial connection.

In conclusion, Matteo Ricci opened the process of 'Western Learning', the

¹ His note was reorganized and edited by Trigault, collected in *Della entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*.

² M. Ricci, A. Chung (edits), *Twenty five Sentences*. Beijing: Beijing da xue zong jiao yan jiu suo, 2000.

³ M. Ricci, Chong Ke (edits), *Ten Paradoxes*, Ji nan: Qi Lu shu she, 1997.

western advanced science and technology was introduced by him in China. His writings covered astronomy, mathematics, geography, music, the method of memory, and ethics. His profound knowledge helped Ricci earn the title of 'Xi Tai', which means the master from the West. The Chinese literati regarded him as a virtuoso scholar more than a missionary. More importantly, he entered the spiritual world of the Confucian literati by means of his ethical treatises.

After making an overview of his achievements in every aspect, we could say that Matteo Ricci was an encyclopedic scholar. This was a reflection of his scientific educational background. In his ethical books, Ricci showed us a solid classical and humanistic cultivation. Thus it is necessary to learn about his educational background.

1.2 Matteo Ricci's educational background

Personal belief, knowledge and attitudes are often rooted in one's early life experiences and educational background. Therefore, the research of Ricci's educational background is helpful for the understanding of his crucial role in the Sino-western cultural exchanges.

Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) 'was born in Macerata, a town of the Papal States with a population of just under thirteen thousand, perched on a hill between the parallel valleys of the Potenza and Chienti rivers, on October 6, 1552'¹. His father, Giovanni Battista Ricci was an apothecary by profession, and his mother, Giovanna Angiolelli was born into a noble family. 'The Ricci family had belonged to the lesser nobility of Macerata for centuries'². When he was nine years old, he studied in the Jesuit school of Macerata. Receiving the elementary education in Jesuit school, Matteo Ricci was deeply impressed by Jesuit teachers' profound knowledge, wide sight and their eloquence. This experience laid the foundation of his future study in Collegio Romano³. According to Sabatino de Ursis, his first biographer, from here Matteo Ricci

¹ M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. p. 1.

² Ibid.

³ F. Mignini, and Wang Suna, *Matteo Ricci: Pavilion of Phoenix*, Zhengzhou: Da xiang chu ban she, 2012. pp. 1-2.

distinguished himself as one of the best pupils and manifested a religious vocation at a very early age¹.

Following his father's instruction Matteo Ricci went to Rome to study law. In 1571, he joined the Society of Jesus in Rome, where he received a good humanistic and scientific education². He learnt mathematics and astronomy under the guide of the famous mathematician Christopher Clavius. The education that he received in Collegio Romano had a profound impact on his life. In the early October 1572, Ricci was sent to Jesuit school of Florence³, he enter into rhetoric class. From October 1573 to May 1577, Ricci attend humanities class and rhetoric class in Collegio Romano. In Coimbra, he studied Portuguese and theology for half year. Form 1578 to 1582 he finished the class of theology in India. Before entering China, Matteo Ricci already accepted the whole education of Jesuit school. In the opinion of Jonathan Spence, those cultures that Matteo Ricci brought in China were basically the knowledge that he learnt in Jesuit School of Florence or Collegio Romano⁴.

During this long period, those four years in Collegio Romano were very crucial for Ricci's scientific and humanistic knowledge formation.

① Jesuit school

From the late fifteenth century, facing the impact of Protestant Christianity, a trend of thought was born in the Catholicism, in order to go against with the Protestantism. In response to this trend, Jesuit was created by Loyola in 1540.

Loyola thought the crucial problem of Catholic Church was its deviation of Christian tradition and doctrine. Hence the key of solving the troubles was to reform the individual instead of reforming the church. Based on this, Loyola emphasized the

¹ M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. p. 2.

² M. Ricci, a cura di Filippo Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 7.

³ Ibid.

⁴ J. D. Spence, Chen Heng, and Mei Yizheng (edit) . *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. Shanghai: Shanghai yuan dong press, 2005. p. 196.

religious and moral education in the whole educational system.

In term of education, the first Jesuit school was established in 1548 at Messina¹. In 1551 the Collegio Romano was found, and became the authoritative model of all the Jesuit schools².

Once the Messina School established, Loyola made the instruction of focusing on the spiritual exercises. The spiritual exercises was the first note of the booklet, all the Jesuits should understand all the methods of testing their conscience, meditating, contemplating, praying and every spiritual activity with the words and the mind³. In Loyola's opinion, only in this way, the spiritual exercises could rescue souls and help the students to understand what the true doctrine was. To this end, Jesuit schools required students to attend mass every day, do confess once a month and they must listen to sermons every Sunday and participate to religious holidays. Moreover, the Jesuits must be around to communicate with the students frequently, discussing their spiritual lives.

However, under the historical background of Renaissance, the Jesuit school was inevitably affected by humanism. The educational theory was adjusted to this new cultural tendency. In the view of humanists, the gravest problem faced by the medieval education was the disunity of teaching and virtue cultivation. In this context, the curriculum setting of Jesuit school obviously changed compared with the medieval education system. According to general opinion of Renaissance, the presence of good literature had sort of inner relationship with the righteous life.

The Greek-Roman time was the symbol of civilization and glory, and used to be a pinnacle of human thought and culture. Therefore the classical culture had become a central element of teaching. Even though Loyola had religious enthusiasm, but at the same time, he also was provided with pragmatic spirit and deep insight, 'based on his personal experience he suggested that we should cultivate spiritual life by learning

¹ W. Bangert, and M. Colpo. *Storia Della Compagnia Di Gesù*. Genova: Marietti, 1990. p. 40.

² Ibid.

³ S. Pavone, *I Gesuiti: Dalle Origini Alla Soppressione : 1540-1773*. Roma, Bari: Laterza, 2004. p. 19.

literature, especially the classical literature, among which included Aristotle's philosophy and Thomas Aquinas' theology.'¹.

Loyola paid attention to the catholic propaganda, at the same time he started to absorb the popular humanistic disciplines into the curriculum settings of Jesuit school. The main humanistic disciplines were comprised of the language and classical literature. These courses later developed to lowest grammar class, middle grammar class, highest grammar classes, humanities and rhetoric, forming a complete structure².

In this period the Jesuit school was called college, in fact only several Jesuit schools were closed to the contemporary University. The majority of Jesuit school was a kind of institute between high school and college. The Jesuit school did not offer the elementary education, before attending the class every student should master the basic knowledge of Latin.

In the initial three-year the main task of studying was grammar. The grammar course was divided into three levels of difficulty degree. After completing the learning of grammar lessons, students would have a year to study humanistic courses, and then would have a year to learn rhetoric. These two years were aiming at exercise the eloquence through which the students would have the capacity to impress the audience. The teaching materials of grammar lesson, humanities and rhetoric exercises were all selected among the works of Cicero, Aristotle, Quintilian, and other classical writers. However, in the selection of classical works, two principles were obeyed by the Jesuit school: First, these works did not contain any content which was against the Christian doctrines; second, the author never preached ethical standards in violation of Christianity.

In some Jesuit schools, besides the classic languages and literature, philosophy and theology were also included into the curriculum setting. In the ratio studiorum of 1599, a complete system of teaching was established, in which, the lesson of sacred scripture, Hebrew, scholastic theology, cases of conscience, philosophy, moral

¹ W. Bangert, and M. Colpo. *Storia Della Compagnia Di Gesù*. Genova: Marietti, 1990. p. 40.

² Wu Shiyong, *History of Foreign Educational Ideas*, Hu Nan: Hunan Education Press, 2002, p. 604.

philosophy and mathematics became the regular lessons.

In summary, the Jesuit school applied an educational system in which Latin was the basic language, classic knowledge was the framework and the theology was the highest lesson. The connection of Christian doctrine and humanistic elements made the Jesuit school different from other catholic schools. For this reason, the Jesuit school was widely questioned and criticized, but this character also helped it to achieve an unprecedented success in the field of education¹.

When Loyola died, there were more 30 Jesuit schools, most of the Jesuits chose teacher as their career. After that, the Jesuit school creased rapidly. At its peak, the number arrived at 800. Jesuit school almost monopolized all the middle school in European catholic countries. In the view of John W. O'Malley, the Jesuit was an institution which had a tradition of involing education, publication, censorship, and disciplinary authority; and the durability of teaching and publication practices across time and space².

② Ratio Studiorum

If we want to understand why the Jesuit school achieved such huge success in 16th and 17th century, and explore Matteo Ricci's educational background, we need to make a research about the educational method and plan of Jesuit school.

According to Ratio Studiorum of 1599, the lower classes were divided into five grades. From the fifth grade to the third grade were the low grades, also were called: lowest grammar class, middle grammar class and highest grammar class³. The second grade was humanities, the first grade was rhetoric.

For the lowest grammar class, the objective is a perfect knowledge of rudiments

¹ Christ. Carlsmith. *Struggling Toward Success: Jesuit Education In Italy, 1540- 1600*, History of Education Quarterly [J].Vol. 42, No.2 (2002): 223.

² J. W. O' Malley, *the Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006. p. 288.

³ A. P. Farrell, *the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*. Washington, D.C: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970. pp. 62-94.

and a beginning knowledge of syntax¹.

For the middle grammar class, the objective is a complete though not exhaustive knowledge of grammar².

For the highest grammar class, the aim is to achieve a complete and perfect knowledge of grammar³.

For the class of humanities, the scope is to lay the foundations for the course in eloquence after the pupils have finished their grammar studies. Three things are required: knowledge of the language, a certain amount of erudition, and an acquaintance with the basic principles of rhetoric⁴.

The Jesuits thought that Latin was a universal language, was an essential tool for missionary. In the field of ethics and philosophy Latin literature was flourishing. Greek and Greek civilization was equal to the Latin culture. Greek civilization was the cradle of natural science and religion. People learn to write with Latin; people learn to think with Greek. From the middle grammar class, people should start to learn Greek⁵.

According to the *Ratio Studiorum*, Cicero's Latin was regarded as the model of Latin, so his book could be seen throughout the classes of all five grades⁶.

From the lowest grammar class to the rhetoric class, they chose these works as textbook, such as: Cicero's letters *Ad Familiares*, *Ad Atticum*, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Cyprian's *De Arte Rhetorica*, and Aristotle's *Rhetorica*⁷ etc.

In Jesuits school, the humanistic education was sufficient and systematic. Now we could understand that the origin of mottos in Matteo Ricci's *On Friends*. His *Twenty Five sentences* and *Ten Paradoxes* contained the thought of Epictetus, Seneca, Horace, Cicero, Aesop etc.

¹ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, p.91

² *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, P.88

² Ibid.

³ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, p.84.

⁴ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, pp.79-88.

⁵ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, p.88.

⁶ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, pp.62-94

⁷ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, pp.73-88.

The humanistic education in Jesuits school made Matteo Ricci have a solid humanistic quality. Even after more 10 years, he still could remember the main parts of textbooks.

Besides the humanistic education, mathematics as the most important science also occupied a position in the educational system of Jesuit school. Especially when the mathematician like Christopher Clavius was at school, mathematics could not be neglected by anyone. Euclid' *Elements* was the textbook, when the students made progress, the professor also could teach them some geography or astronomy or similar matter¹.

To sum up, *Ratio Studiorum* as the regulation of Jesuits school showed us a overview of Matteo Ricci's education. Due to the education of science and humanities in jesuit school, Ricci gained the praise and respect of the Chinese literat. Without the previous education, Ricci could not become a great mathematican and astronomer.

③ The vocation of mission

In the opinion of Bangert, the two characteristics of Jesuits are its education system and activities of mission².

At the beginning of its foundation, Jesuits emphasized the loyalty of Jesuits to Pope; they should unconditionally obey Pope's order. The Jesuits implemented the hierarchical centralized system; the member should obey his superior³. Hence their oversea mission was always a response to Pope's desire of expanding Chiristianity in the world.

Besides its conservative aspects, compared with other orders, the Jesuits also had its flexibility and openness, which reflected in its cultural accommodation strategy⁴. 'In 1539, St Ignatius and his companions from Paris drew up their 'Formula,' they

¹ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, p.46.

² W. Bangert, and M. Colpo. *Storia Della Compagnia Di Gesù*. Genova: Marietti, 1990. p. 111.

³ P. C. Hartmann, and Gu Yu (edits) , *Brief History of the Jesuit*. Beijing: Zong jiao wen hua press, 2003. p.14.

⁴ S. Pavone, *I Gesuiti: Dalle Origini Alla Soppressione : 1540-1773*. Roma ; Bari: Laterza, 2004. p. 67.

made provision in it for a certain flexibility in the future they envisaged for themselves. None the less, they saw themselves as particularly devoted to 'the propagation of the faith,' whether they should be sent for that purpose 'among the Turks, or to the New World, or to the Lutherans, or to any others whether infidels or the faithful.'¹ The flexibility and openness provided the Jesuits the possibility of carrying out their mission overseas.

'Moreover, the linguistic skill that was a product of the Jesuits' devotion to the *studia humanitatis* served them well in their dealings with the strange, and to them exotic, languages they encountered overseas'².

Most importantly, the motivation of mission was the response to God's vocation. In Royola's opinion, the final goal of spiritual exercise was to listen to God's call³. Talking about the vocation, Adriano Prosperi made a specific analysis. He addressed that when a man got the vocation from the God, then he could have a new spiritual life⁴. Probably that's the theoretical origin of their missionary passion.

In conclusion, Jesuits as a religious order concentrated on establishing schools and carrying out missionary activities.

The solid and effective education in Jesuits school made Ricci become a well educated scholar. The scientific education gave him an approach to attract the Chinese literati, and the mechanics he brought from Europe became the popular gifts in Chinese society. At the beginning of his missionary activities, through the western science and mechanics, he started to make contact with Chinese mandarins. Furthermore, the humanistic education helped him to show his wisdom in the field of morality. The affinity in the ethical fields shortened the distance between Matteo Ricci and the Chinese literati. His educational background made an adequate preparation for Ricci's mission.

¹ J. W. O'Malley, p.574. John W. O' Malley, *the Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006. p. 574.

² Ibid.

³ S. Pavone, *I Gesuiti: Dalle Origini Alla Soppressione : 1540-1773*. Roma, Bari: Laterza, 2004. p. 19.

⁴ Adriano Prosperi. *La Vocazione: Storie Di Gesuiti Tra Cinquecento E Seicento*. Torino: Einaudi, 2016. p.33.

The Jesuit regarded the mission in the world as their vocation, responding the call from the God would help them to start a journey of reconstructing their spiritual life. Under the lead of this vocation, Ricci acrossed the sea and then arrived in a distant empire, in there he met a totally different civilization. His enthusiasm for missionary enterprise was showed from time to time. When Ricci was in Goa, he could not get satisfaction from teaching Latin and Greek grammara. Ricci felt useless, longing for nothing more than to begin his missionary work¹.

When he finally gained the entry into China, how to open the door of this ancient empire, how to connect with the local people, how to preache the gospel of the God would be a problem which cost him a lifetime to figure out.

¹ M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. p. 25.

CHAPTER II

IMAGE OF CHINA IN THE EYES OF MATTEO RICCI

2.1 *The travels of Marco Polo-the mythology of China*

The Sino-western cultural exchange had a long history. In the late Middle Ages, with the Crusades and Mongolian expedition, the transportation within Eurasia was greatly opened. The Europeans began to have a more accurate understanding of the geographical location of Asia, and began to know more about the various ethnic groups that lived there. Because of the new geographical and ethnical conception, the Europeans changed their Mediterranean-centered concept of geography, from then on they wanted to explore the continent of Asia, especially China.

Since 1298 in which *the travels of Marco Polo had been published, it was* recognized as the first book that introduced the distant, fascinating Eastern world to the Europeans. In this book, the description of Ancient China was more attractive. For several hundred years before the great geographical discoveries, it was always an important way for the Europeans to understand the mysterious oriental world.

The appearance of *Travels of Marco Polo* was full of legend. According to this book, Marco Polo was born in a merchant family, in Venice, in the year of 1254¹. In 1271, after a difficult voyage, seventeen year old Marco arrived in China with his father and uncle. Soon, using his extraordinary wisdom and abilities, Marco Polo won Kublai Khan's trust. He lived for 17 years in China and traveled from place to place. 25 years later, he came back with a lot of wealth and a legendary oriental story to tell. Marco Polo told his home people that he had spent most of those years living in the Mongol Empire, travelling everywhere, he even was an official. In 1296 he was captured during the battle with Genova. In prison, he dictated his own experiences;

¹ Marco Polo, Marsden William, Komroff Manuel (edit), *The Travels of Marco Polo <the Venetian>*. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1953. p. 5.

his cellmate Rustichello da Pisa completed the book--*Travels of Marco Polo* for him.

The book is divided into four volumes: in the first volume, Marco Polo described his journey from Europe to Dadu (the capital of Mongol Empire), and recorded the things that he heard throughout his journey; the second volume described the trip from Dadu to Hangzhou, Fuzhou, Quanzhou and the southeast coast; the third Volume talked about situations of Japan, Yunnan, islands in Southeast Asia, in the Indian Ocean and other places; the last volume gave an account of the war between the North-Asia Mongol empires. This book contains 229 chapters, of which there are over 100 chapters involving China, recorded more than 40 cities and regions, made the natural and social situation about these regions in detail.

Marco Polo constructed an extremely civilized, prosperous and rich image of China. The Mongol Empire conquered the whole of Asia and large part of Eastern Europe by means of horses and sturdy herdsmen. At that time, according to the concept of the church, this largest empire in the world was regarded as a desolate and uninhabited place. In Marco Polo's eyes, this empire was magnificent, however, in the Europeans' opinion, only beasts and demons lived there. Marco Polo subverted the inherent understanding of the oriental world for the Europeans. As soon as the book was published, it caused a great response in Europe, and was translated and published in a large number of copies. *Travels of Marco Polo* became the best-selling travel book in the Middle Ages.

The travels of Marco Polo created the western collective imagination of China integrating the wealth, power and earthly pleasures. During the period of the Great Discoveries of Geography, Columbus discovered America in 1492, his inspiration of adventurous voyage came from Chinese mythology full of wealth and earthly pleasures which was built by Marco Polo. Going to the East, going to the world of gold, was an access to the wealth. Impelled by the spirit of mercantilism and freedom, businessmen and adventurers embarked on the journey to China. The western expansion abroad was characterized not only by economic and military conquest, but also by the spreading of Christianity which was the representative of western cultural spirit, and the mission was carried out by missionaries. If we say Marco Polo built a

material image of China for the Europeans, then the missionaries promoted it on a spiritual level. They implanted the historical and cultural factors on the basis of Chinese mythology, and built a real and clear, civilized image of China, made it become a new starting point just like the milestone in the history of the evolution of the image of China in the West.

2.2 *Historia Del Gran Reino de La China*-institutional image of China

Along with the Great Discoveries of Geography, Christianity was spread all over the world. This duty was carried out by missionaries. China as a populous and prosperous country attracted merchants and travelers. Also adventurous missionaries considered China as an ideal country where to preach. Many European countries sent their missionaries to the East. These missionaries were encouraged by a strong spiritual faith and a sense of mission. Differently from travelers like Marco Polo, the missionaries didn't hold a crazy fanaticism of wealth, so they were less concerned about trade, military conquest and the possibility to build a colony. They paid more attention to China's human culture; they were more sensitive to China's geographic scenery, cultural ideology, political system, religion and other aspects. They tried to construct the image of China on an institutional level, implanting historical and cultural factors, in order to build a civilization of true wisdom and moral order in a clear and specific way. Therefore, this approach of building an image of China became the mainstream. One of the representatives of this is Mendoza's *Historia del Gran Reino de La China*.

Mendoza's *Historia del Gran Reino de La China*¹ was written in the 16th century, and mainly described all aspects of China which were based on the Europeans' original recognition. Its author, Juan Gonzalez De Mendoza (1545-1618) was born at Torrecilla de Cameros in Spain in the year of 1545; he lived through the transitional period of the Spanish Empire from its pinnacle to its decadence. Mendoza received a

¹ Juan González De Mendoza, He Gaoji (edits). *Historia Del Gran Reino de La China*. Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1998. p.3

good education, in 1562 he traveled to Mexico; in 1564 he became a member of the Augustinian Order. Mendoza was responsible for missionary work, at the same time; he also concentrated on theology, grammar, and art. During his stay in Mexico, the Philippines were conquered by the Spanish colonizers. Mendoza consistently collected a lot of news about various aspects of China from Spanish colonists; his curiosity was aroused by the deeper understanding of China. Mendoza had the intention of visiting China. Unfortunately, the political situation of the Philippines was so dangerous that he couldn't go. Soon after, he returned to Spain. In 1583, he went to Rome; Pope Gregory XIII met with him. Since the Holy See aimed at expanding the influence of Christianity in the East, they needed a wide range of information about Chinese society. In consideration of Mendoza's understanding of Chinese society, Pope Gregory XIII ordered him to write a book about China. Through his tireless efforts, in 1588 Mendoza accomplished *Historia del Gran Reino de La China*, whose whole title was *historia de las Cosas mas Notables, Ritos y Costumbres del Gran Reyno de la China, Sabidas asi por los Libros de los Mismos Chinas, como por Relacion de Religiosos, otras Personas, quean estado en el Dichi Reyno*). From this title, several important facts were mentioned, the main content of the book was about the most remarkable things, rites and customs of the Great Kingdom of China, all the descriptions were based on Chinese classical books and other missionary diaries. Therefore, Mendoza's book was not a record of his own experience in China; instead, it was a collection of others' descriptions that were arranged and reorganized by him. Mendoza had never set foot on Chinese territory, and his information was mainly from a Dominican priest Gaspar da Cruz's *tratado das Coisas da China*¹, Gerrada's report and Franciscan monk Fryer Peter de Alfaro's travel note, and Martin Ignacio Royola's report. Besides their reports and records, Mendoza also made use of the previous records.

From the content and structure of *Historia del Gran Reino de La China*, the book can be divided into two parts. The first part is a review of China's overall conditions,

¹ Juan González De Mendoza, He Gaoji (edits), *Historia Del Gran Reino de La China*. Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1998. pp.37-38.

this portion is divided into three volumes, the first volume contains 10 chapters, which discuss the overall situation in China, on China's territory, climate, natural resources, division of provinces, architectural style and other aspects of the subjects; the second volume lists 10 chapters in the same manner, begins to make a detailed record of the living conditions of Chinese people, highlights the Chinese people's respect for religious beliefs and the supernatural; the third volume of the following 24 chapters, describes the ancient Chinese imperial lineage, political institutions, administrative, legal, examination system, science, technology and etiquette customs and so on. The second part describes the three journeys of missionaries in China and global travel; respectively there are Lada's trip to Fujian in 1575, Alfaro's trip to Guangdong from 1579 to 1580, and Ignacio's trip from Seville to China. In these three descriptions, the foreign exchanges as well as the policies and attitude towards foreigners were revealed.

The image of China constructed by Mendoza was mainly in a transitional period from Mid-Ming Dynasty to the late stage. This period was marked by its political stability, economic development, and cultural prosperity. The perfect institution and national prosperity were the main characters. In Mendoza's book, as was known by the Europeans, China was a magnificent empire with vast territory, fertile soil, and abundant resources. 'It was said that China was the largest country in the world, and held the largest population'¹, this empire had fifteen provinces, among which, every province was bigger than a European country.'² This country located in the temperate climate, so China's land 'is undoubtedly the most fertile in the world,' 'there has everything necessary for human life', together with the diligence of Chinese people, 'it can rightfully be called the richest countries in the world', 'almost in the country we can't see any waste land or no harvest areas'³.

The natural resource was abundant, and the products were inexpensive. 'The price of cashmere, silk, satin and other fabrics was so cheap, that it is amazing,

¹ Juan González De Mendoza, He Gaoji (edits), *Historia Del Gran Reino de La China*. Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1998. p. 20.

² Ibid.

³ Juan González De Mendoza, He Gaoji (edits), *Historia Del Gran Reino de La China*. pp.7-11.

especially compared to the price in Spain and Italy.’¹

Mendoza gave a high evaluation on the development level of Chinese technology. He attributed the invention of printing to China, and he believed that as early as five hundred years before Gutenberg, China had used printing². Besides printing, he also mentioned that Chinese people used artillery far earlier than the European countries³, China's defense construction, shipbuilding technology were praised by him.

When talking about China's political, military, judicial and educational systems, Mendoza believed that China was a strict legal orderly society and that the state was well managed. Speaking of foreign policy, China banned maritime trade or intercourse with foreign countries. All in all, according to Mendoza's description, China was an empire with the same degree of civilization as Europe, or even more advanced than the Europe.

This book was considered as an encyclopedia on China in the 16th century, including the economic situation, institutional civilization, religions, cultural tradition, local customs, foreign relations, even the tributary system was also mentioned by him. Since Mendoza had never been to China, his description was inevitably inconsistent with the facts. However, for the first time his book constructed a whole image of China for the Europeans, and satisfied their desire for learning more about this ancient Empire.

As soon as this book was published, it became one of Europe's best-selling books in the 16th century. In the last ten years of 16th century, Latin, Italian, English, German, French, and Portuguese versions successively appeared. Until the mid 17th century new versions of this book still were appearing. Without exaggerating, in Europe at the time, the majority of well-educated people had this book including the British philosopher Francis Bacon and the French writers Michel de Montaigne and Montesquieu⁴.

¹ J. G. De. Mendoza, He Gaoji (edits), *Historia Del Gran Reino de La China*. p. 10.

² J. G. De. Mendoza, He Gaoji (edits), *Historia Del Gran Reino de La China*. p. 121.

³ J. G. De. Mendoza, He Gaoji (edits), *Historia Del Gran Reino de La China*. p. 118.

⁴ Henri Bernard, Xiao Junhua (edits), *History of Catholic missionary in the sixteenth-century China*. Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1964. p. 148.

Several centuries ago, Marco Polo brought a prosperous, mighty and marvellous image of China to the Europeans, his book was popular in Europe, but was always questioned by people. Mendoza's *Historia del Gran Reino de La China* made people begin to believe Marco Polo's book was not only a mythology. China was a real empire.

From Marco Polo to Mendoza, the image of China went through a procedure of evolution. With regards to the construction of image of China, Marco Polo described it on a material level, instead, Mendoza went further. The political, administrative, legal institutions were the main point to focus on in Mendoza's book. If *Travels of Marco Polo* was a fanatic imagination of China, then Mendoza's *Historia del Gran Reino de La China* was a form of proof. Along with the deep exchange between China and Europe, the image of China became clearer, more specific, and more complete.

However, in the pre-Matteo Ricci's period, these two representative books had their own weaknesses and limitations. The credulity of *Travels of Marco Polo* was always questioned by the Europeans; the reason why it was popular was probably because it satisfied their curiosity. Mendoza's *Historia del Gran Reino de La China* was based on the reorganization of several travel notes, lacking the author's own experience and examination the errors were inevitable.

2. 3 Image of China in Matteo Ricci's eyes

As the pioneer of Sino-western cultural exchange, Matteo Ricci was the first Jesuit who entered China, and he spent twenty-eight years in this land. Naturally, his opinion towards China would become more instructive for the Europeans. In addition, people wanted to compare his work with Marco Polo's and Mendoza's, in order to find out the similarities and differences, aiming at constructing a true, complete, comprehensive image of China.

As early as September 13 1584, Matteo Ricci wrote a letter to the Tax Secretary, Mr Roman, adding the experience in Zhaoqing, he made a comprehensive narrative of China's geographical location, social customs, technology level and religious beliefs.

On his first arrival in China, he was so excited, 'the land is fertile, this country is rich and beautiful, the knowledge and capacity of the Chinese people are so great and amazing, if we want to write all the information down, it will take several volumes.'¹ Facing the rich material conditions, Matteo Ricci said: 'China looks like a big garden with quiet and peace. The land is full of fruit-trees, forests and all kinds of vegetables. The main part of the land can be connected with the canals; the canals can directly arrive to Beijing. People also can arrive there through the land route. It will take three months. All in all, through rivers or land routes, people can go anywhere. Here is like a huge Venice.'² The richness of China made Ricci feel his lack of vocabulary³. This is Ricci's first impression of China, just like other travelers and missionaries; his understanding of China also remained on a material level.

Actually, after Mendoza's description of China, the creation of mythology and the superficial description of China couldn't satisfy the Europeans anymore. The Sino-western cultural exchange arrived at its peak in the late Ming Dynasty. Matteo Ricci's appearance symbolized the start of the Eastward dissemination of Western learning. The missionaries became an important group to build up the bridge between two different civilizations. They had the desire to know China; also they carried the duty to help Europe to know China. The Jesuit made several expeditions, Xavier, Valignano, and Ruggeri tried to enter China. Finally, Matteo Ricci opened the door of China. He became the first Jesuit who traveled in China, and lived in Beijing. Matteo Ricci was called 'the first person in Sino-western exchange' by scholar FangHao. During his mission, Matteo Ricci wrote more than twenty books; his opinions towards China can be found in some of them. The most representative one is his *Della entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*. As Matteo Ricci said: 'we have lived in this country for almost thirty years. And we traveled in several important provinces. We made friends with its nobles, higher officials and famous letterati. We

¹ M.Ricci, a cura di Piero Corradini, Francesco D'Arelli, *Lettere: 1580-1609*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2001. p. 63.

² M.Ricci, a cura di Piero Corradini, Francesco D'Arelli, *Lettere: 1580-1609*. p. 66.

³ M.Ricci, a cura di Piero Corradini, Francesco D'Arelli, *Lettere: 1580-1609*. p. 72.

can speak chinese, besides, we do research on their customs and laws; the most important thing is that we read their classics day and night. Those people who never entered China lack of our advantages, they wrote books about China, without having been a witness. Their descriptions just relied on others' notes'.¹

After Ricci died, another Jesuit Nicola Trigault (1577-1629) arrived in Beijing, he found Ricci's diary, and began to organize it. In 1612, Nicola Trigault was ordered to return to Europe to meet Pope Paulus V (1605-1621). He reported the missionary's situation in China. In the long journey, Trigault translated Ricci's diary into Latin, and added his additions, deletions and amendments. In 1615, the Latin version was published in Germany. In 1953, Louis J. Gallagher translated it into English, and named it *China in the Sixteenth Century: the Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610*.

Ricci's diary was finished before his death, to some extent; it was a summary of his experiences. In addition, *Della entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina* reflected his final impression of China. In this sense, the image of China in his *Della entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina* was more complete and mature.

The first volume mainly outlined the situation in China, including the evolution of the names of China, local customs, political systems, and the national spirit. The second volume to the fifth mainly recorded the missionary experience in China, especially Matteo Ricci's own experience.

In his *Della entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*, we could see a stereo and multi-dimensional image of China. Compared with *Travels of Marco Polo* and Mendoza's description, Matteo Ricci's note was not extreme, and mysterious, but it was credible and profound. Ricci constructed a picture on a cultural and spiritual level.

Matteo Ricci had a conscious understanding of the Ming Dynasty's political

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Quodlibet, Macerata, 2000. p. 6.

chaos and its corruption caused by eunuchs. Furthermore, he recognized the Chinese national identity, psychology, and character in a profound and unique way. His understanding of Chinese culture was very precious, because it was formed through a long-time procedure. Beyond that, Matteo Ricci's perception of Confucian culture helped him to draw an objective conclusion.

On one side, in the construction of image of China, Matteo Ricci continued Marco Polo's description. In his view China also was a country vast in territory, rich in resources and large in population. On the other side, he pointed out some errors of Marco Polo. For example, Ricci examined that Cathay was China, not a country located in the north of China. But for several centuries, the Europeans hadn't known it. Until Matteo Ricci arrived in Beijing, he heard from some Muslims that they use Cathay, Khitai or Xathai to speak of China. Then he confirmed that Cathay was no more than China. Ricci corrected this big error which was made by Marco Polo.

More importantly Matteo Ricci's attitude towards China was objective. His analysis was dialectical, both the positive sides and negative sides of Chinese society were mentioned by him.

Della entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina broadly described all aspects of China. The image of China shaped by Matteo Ricci widely and deeply affected Europe for more than two centuries. Not only for the missionaries, but also for the whole of Europe, he opened a window through which people could observe China. *Della entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina* was seen as a must-read book for understanding China. Besides, it offers a blueprint for us to discuss the image of China.

We could analyze the image of China in Matteo Ricci's eyes from three dimensions: the image of material civilization, the image of its institutions and the image of its spiritual civilization.

2.3.1. *The image of material civilization*

As early as three centuries ago, a strong, prosperous China was described by

Marco Polo. This description entered the Europeans' social collective imagination, and Ricci used his own personal experience to confirm this myth. But compared to the former exaggeration, Ricci's narrative was much more authentic and fully reflected the rigorous and realistic style of a scholar, rather than a businessman's rhetoric.

Speaking of China's territory, Ricci thought that people of all times had always described it with 'big' words, 'In terms of long extension of its territory and borders, which is currently bigger than all the kingdoms together, and as far as I know, all previous era, it is more than them.'¹ This conclusion was not his supposition or hearsay, but drew from an accurate field measurement. 'We use the astrolabe—a device usually used by mathematicians, and other instruments to measure the location of these boundaries.'²

Although the territory of China is vast, its defense is very good, so they can enjoy peace for a long time, Ricci believed that 'the natural barriers and common fortifications maintained China in a safe environment'³.

China's south and east part were surrounded by the sea, along the coast, there were many islands, for the enemies, it was difficult to reach the mainland. In the north, there are mountains to defend against a Tartar invasion, as well as the Great Wall could become a natural defence. And only a few of weak countries located near to China, 'Chinese people always ignore it, because neither they fear them, nor want to annex them.'⁴

In terms of the rich resources of China, Ricci boldly asserted, since the vast of territory and the diversity of climate, 'there is no other place in the world can be found, in which there are so many varieties of animals and plants. A wide climate range allows so many kinds of vegetables to grow in this country. Indeed, you can find everything of Europe in China'⁵.

In particular, he referred to the industrious Chinese people, the fertile land, the

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 9.

² M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 10.

³ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 11.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 12.

abundant food. Matteo Ricci fully described the wide variety of food, vegetables, fruits, livestock, plants, rare metals, coal, herbs, paper, spices and other rich natural resources¹.

As for transport, he mentioned that the domestic river transport was extremely developed. People can travel to anywhere through the river route.

Besides the information which was already known by the Europeans, Ricci also mentioned several specialties that they had never known before.

First was the famous beverage – tea, Ricci made a detailed introduction of the way to make and drink it. Tea as a drink was used to entertain guests. It is really good for digestion and healthy physique.²

Another specialty which was worthy to be mentioned was vernice paint, a special resin was squeezed out from the trunk, and it looked the same with milk. The Chinese people used it to prepare a pigment or Sandarac; they call it Cie, Portuguese called the Ciorone. It was commonly used to build houses and boats as well as painting wood products³. This paint made the wood have different colors, look shiny as a mirror, and after washing with water, it still looked like new one⁴.

He also referred to the important raw material for the manufacturing of gunpowder - saltpetre. Although China's saltpeter production was high, the Chinese people didn't use it to make guns, instead, 'a large number was used in the manufacture of fireworks which was let off during the holidays'⁵, the technology of making fireworks astonished Ricci.

In Ricci's eyes, the Chinese people were the most hard-working people; most of the mechanical processes were very developed⁶.

He pointed out that the use of Chinese printing⁷ was earlier than the European version (approximately 1405). At least five centuries ago, the Chinese people knew

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. pp. 11-12.

² M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 18.

³ Ibid.

⁴ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 19.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 20.

⁷ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 21.

how to use printing, although this printing was different from the Gutenberg printing technology. This point corresponded to Mendoza's description.

2.3.2. *The image of institutional civilization*

After having personally confirmed the material richness of China apparently Ricci was more interested in China's institutional system, among which the government of literati and imperial examination system were more attractive for the Europeans.

2.3.2.1. *The government of literati*

Matteo Ricci realized that since the ancient time, the monarchy was the only political style which was accepted by the Chinese people¹. They never heard of other forms of government².

He praised the Chinese people's loyalty, they would rather die than serve a usurper, a good woman would not marry at second time, a good minister would not serve another monarch.

In china, there was not a law like 'Twelve Tables' with which the country can be ruled successfully. Those who ascended the throne, no matter how was his family's background, would make new laws according to his own way. The aim of making new laws was maintaining peace, prosperity, and a stable situation. There was no eternal code. However, when the new dynasty was established, the new law would be enacted by the new rulers; this way of ruling was also effective.

Although the form of government was monarchy, to some extent, it contained a degree of aristocracy. While all legislation enacted by the ministers must be approved by the emperor's approval, but without consultation with the Minister, the emperor himself could not make a final decision on national affairs. Ministers in a certain

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 39.

² M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 102.

sense connected Emperor (Empire, the highest decision-maker) to the relevant bodies of the policy execution.

It should be added that, since the establishment of the monarchy, the struggle of power's division between the emperor and the prime minister had continued. This problem was not fully resolved until the Qing Dynasty. This kind of struggle reflected that the ministers limited the emperor in some ways.

All ministers were divided into two levels, the first level was higher, they were in charge of the ministries in the court, and they were seen as a model of governance throughout the country. The second level was lower, including all ministers or provincial governors, who governed a province or a city¹.

Cabinet was the central political institutions, which was divided into six ministries; they were in charge of the whole national governance. The cabinet can be considered as the mind of the empire. In each province, three commissioners divided the administrative, judicial and military power, they kept the balance of power, at the same time, and they need to obey the emperor's order.

The most distinctive feature of government in the Ming Dynasty reflected on the imbalance of power between civilian and military ministers. The civilian ministers (literati) had absolute dominance. Ricci captured this character; he admired the government of literati, which catered to western 'philosopher king' thought. He commented: 'China was ruled by the literati; also they were called the philosophers. The whole country was in their hands, they were in charge of governing all affairs. All the officers and soldier of the army respected the literati; they were very humble and obedient in front of the literati. The strategy of war and military issues were decided by the philosophers. Their suggestions deserved more attention of the emperor, compared with the military leaders'².

Therefore, People would prefer to become the low-ranking philosophers, rather than becoming the highest military. Because they knew that becoming a philosopher

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 43.

² M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 51.

was the best way to earn reputation and money.

In response to this phenomenon, Ricci understood that the ruling class of the Ming Dynasty didn't pay attention to foreign expansion; the army lacked impetuosity and encouragement, so the status of the generals was extremely low. As a result, the social atmosphere also was weak, and lacked courage and uprightness. The soldiers were slack and lazy, because they did not have a perfect promotion channel, they could not get the respect and prestige, joining the army was not a good career choice. Society in the Ming Dynasty was without Martial spirit¹. On the contrary, the literati monopolized almost all of the official promotion channels, mastered all of the social resources, while enjoying a good reputation.

Obviously, if we want to explore why the literati were universally respected by society, and monopolized the ruling power, it is necessary to understand the Chinese system of selecting officers- the imperial examination system.

2.3.2.2. *The imperial examination system*

Besides the social atmosphere mentioned by Matteo Ricci, the Chinese people's preference for the liberal arts was originally influenced by the traditional cadre system, in other word, the imperial examination system.

On this unique system of selecting officers, Matteo Ricci made a very specific description. He discussed all the aspects which were related to the imperial examination system, including three levels of examination, the form of examination, the contents of examination, especially the content of the examination was analyzed deeply.

The Chinese people from an early age began to learn the classics, which contained the essence of Confucianism. The classics also were the official test texts.

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 154.

All the questions were related to the classics¹, which consisted in Four Books and Five Classics.

Matteo Ricci emphasized the importance of these classics in the examinations, 'these nine books were the oldest nine Chinese classics, and the rest of the book was an extension of these nine books, which included almost all of the Chinese characters. These books provide the moral model and example, so the ancient monarchs ordered people to write a thesis on the basis of these nine books². The structure of the imperial examination questions were divided into three parts: The first part deals with the classics, the second part deals with current events, history, countermeasures, Part III: deals with administrative guidance, involving government actions.

In order to help the Europeans understand the imperial examination system, Ricci linked the three levels of title 'xiucaì', 'juren', 'jinshi' respectively to the Western 'Bachelor', 'Master' and 'Dr'. People can get the title after passing the examination, but the title was not hereditary³.

Matteo Ricci grasped several social phenomena which were reflected by the imperial examination system.

First, through the examination, the candidates and the officers would build a new social bond. The formation of this new social relation impacted the Ming society in many aspects. This group of people probably assembled as a strong power, for example, the DongLin (东林) party.

Obtain a degree in this process; the same experience helped the candidates to develop relationships and friendship. The relationship between candidates and examiners were like father and son; or were like teacher and student. Even if sometimes the student enjoyed the honour more than his former teacher, they would still express admiration and reverence to the teacher.⁴

The second point, the liberal arts enjoyed the preference, among which the

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 32.

² Ibid.

³ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. pp. 33-36.

⁴ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. pp. 37-38.

morality occupied the most important position. If some one grasped the ethical knowledge, he would obtain the largest reputation. 'no matter what kind of examination was, all the examiners were selected among the literati. From this point, we could see the authority of Chinese literati¹.

Third, the imperial examination system reflected the cultural guide. Confucian classics was the official content of the questions, hence Confucianism was truly 'Official'. For all the people, the way to get power was passing the examination, was holding the Confucian thought. Furthermore, the knowledge of ethics was the symbol of wisdom²; and was the method of accumulating the social prestige.

2.3.3. *The image of cultural civilization*

Matteo Ricci had lived in China for twenty-eight years; he made friends with Chinese literati; he learnt Confucian classic; he spoke and wrote in Chinese, all the factors offered him a chance to observe the Chinese society from an internal perspective. The language, Religions and national mentality were the main parts that he paid attention to. More importantly, over the years of missionary experience, Ricci formed a keen and sharp understanding of Chinese people's mentality. This kind of observation was never obtained by any traveller or missionary. From this point of view, the national mentality and spiritual state would be the crucial clue to understand a civilization.

2.3.3.1 *Language*

For the Europeans of that time, China was a far away empire full of mystery. Mastery of Chinese was a prerequisite to understand Chinese society and culture.

Especially for the missionaries, if they want to preach their religious theory, the best way was to explain the doctrine is using local language and using local logic.

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 38.

² Ibid.

Based on his missionary experience in Japan, Alessandro Valignano proposed that the missionaries should respect the local culture and make a compromise with local ceremonies¹. The first step of the cultural accommodation was overcome the barrier of language.

On account of his experience of learning Chinese, Ricci signed with emotion: 'Chinese perhaps is the most ambiguous language', 'there is no language as difficult as Chinese for a foreigner'. Compared with European alphabetic letters, Ricci believed Chinese character was tedious and original, and was equivalent to the Egyptian hieroglyph. For Chinese, there was no distinction between vowels and consonants; each character was used to represent a meaning.

Although the simple writing just required about 10,000 characters, but the total number of characters had reached seven, eighty thousand, so that 'in the whole country non one could master all of them'².

Ricci wrote a letter to P.Maritno De Fornari and expressed the difficulties which he encountered in learning Chinese. 'Many Chinese characters share the same pronunciation, but are written in different ways and express different meanings. However the Chinese people could distinguish them according to their accent and note.'³ Hence for the Europeans, the single meaning of every character was decided by its note and accent. In this sense, the difficulty of listening Chinese and speaking Chinese was increased. In addition, on account of the vasty territory, each province had its own dialect, and even within the same province, Chinese would be spoken in different ways. Based on all the analysis Ricci assumed that the ambiguity of Chinese made it become a written language more than an orale one. Chinese people always focused on the development of written language neglecting the orale part. Nevertheless for learning these characters, Chinese people need to spend the whole life. Ricci thought this was a kind of wasting time.

¹ S. Pavone, *I Gesuiti: Dalle Origini Alla Soppressione : 1540-1773*. Roma, Bari: Laterza, 2004. p. 67.

² M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 26.

³ M. Ricci, *Lettere*. p. 45.

2.3.3.2. Religions

Ricci examined three major religions, namely Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism.¹ All Chinese people and all the neighbourhood countries such as Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Taiwan and Cochin China, were belong to three sects of one kind or another.¹

Buddhism was introduced into China from Shinto in 64 AD². According to Ricci, when Buddhism appeared in China, the thought of immortality and happiness of after life were the reason of its popularity. Some of its theory derived from the Western philosophers' doctrine³. Although Buddhism and Christianity had some similarities⁴, but Ricci still criticized Buddhism, the concept of heaven and earth was totally confused in Buddhism. The confusion of Buddhism was not only reflected on the doctrines, but also reflected on the obedience of regulations⁵. According to Ricci, something more intolerable was the lazy and shameless of the Buddhist monks⁶.

As for Taoism, although its origin could be dated from generated from another famous philosopher Laozi, but the books were full of ridiculous stories and nonsense. Taoism encouraged people to practice physical and soul soaring, often deceived believers with the lie of providing people the eternal life⁷. Taosu's main duty is exorcism (the monster) and presided over the ritual for heaven and earth. Because the pursuit of immortality, so the priests are mostly closely linked with alchemy⁸. Although these three religions were opposed to the Christianity, Ricci still spoke

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 92.

² M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 98.

³ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 99.

⁴ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 100.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 101.

⁷ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 104.

⁸ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 106.

highly of Confucianism. The Confucianism was the ancient and original religion. Always the rulers governed the country under the guide of Confucianism¹.

First, there is no idol to be worshiped for Confucianism, people neither prayed to Confucius, nor asked him for good. Confucius was respected as the creator of Confucianism. People built temples of Confucius, in order to express their gratitude to Confucius. Through the examination of Confucianism, the literati got the opportunity to join into the ruling class, so they regarded Confucianism as the origin of their authority and prestige².

Second, the literati believed the existence of a supreme God, but they did not build a temple to respect the god. Therefore there were no priests to organize any ritual, let alone any canon and related interpretations from the highest religious authority.

Third, Confucianism does not teach people the origin of the world, what time and in what manner it was created³. The Confucianism didn't have any concept which was related to the hell and heaven; it only focused on the earthly life⁴.

The Confucianism guided people to act in a proper way, set a moral example for the society. If everyone could obey the Confucianism, and then the whole country would be ruled well.

Thus, Confucianism is a school rather than a religion. Its final aim was maintaining the order and stability, keep the harmony in the family, and cultivate the personal virtue. Based on this, Ricci believed Confucian teachings and Catholic doctrine were consistent, and they were able to integrate with each other.

2.3.3.3 *National mentality*

Matteo Ricci in his notes for the first time opened the mysterious veil of the

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 94.

² M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 97.

³ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 94.

⁴ Ibid.

Chinese nation. He showed the confusing and complex national character of Chinese people to the Europeans.

First, Polite and antiforeigner

‘This ancient empire was famous for its politeness. For them, understanding others, and respecting others, these constituted the basis for gentle and polite’¹. After an introduction of Chinese rite, Ricci complained: ‘Perhaps no one in the world, whether laity or clergy, living in a kind of red tape’².

In daily life, Chinese people always paid attention to the manners and the rules of etiquette. As a European, Ricci on the one hand praised Chinese’s polite, on the other hand he felt regret for the wasting of time in manners.

This polite nation was so antiforeigner. Ricci said, ‘they do not allow foreigners to live freely within their country, no matter what the circumstances is, the foreigners are not allowed to enter into the hinterland of the country’³. According to his own experience, Ricci lamented, ‘the foreign envoy was treated as a prisoner, he was forbidden to see anything during the trip’⁴. Ricci thought this kind of antiforeigner attitude was rooted in the deep fear and distrust of the foreigners.

Missionary Francis Xavier tried to enter China, but he was refused. Eventually Xavier died on the island of Shang Chuan. Ricci and his partners suffered much hostility during their missionary in China. Sometimes they were attacked by the local people. It is undeniable that this complex and contradictory attitude played a leading role.

In fact, the formation of this complex nation mentality is from the Ming Dynasty internal social background and external environment. Compared with Tang Dynasty, which is characterized by its openness and confidence, the Ming Dynasty was a closed and slightly oppressed society. For such a strong rejection of foreigners and apprehension, was aroused not only by the harassment of pirate along the coastal

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 56.

² M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 64.

³ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 53.

⁴ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 85.

areas, but also by the internal crises with which the ruling class was unable to deal.

This kind of insecurity spread from the ruling class to the ordinary people, showing a strong antiforeigner tendency in the closure policy.

Second, Arrogant and self-abasement

In a letter to Claudio Acquaviva, Ricci said that China was a closed and arrogant country¹, which was unknown about the outside world, at the same time China was a castle that didn't have the desire to know the outside world.

When Ricci showed the map of the world in front of the Chinese people, the Chinese people for the first time found that their empire was not in the center of the map and had puzzled, because in their view, 'China is located at the center of this plain, is the central piece of garden'². Later Ricci had to re-draw the map according to the Chinese people's habits, making China appear exactly in the center of the map.

In Ricci's opinion, Chinese people had ignorant superiority, 'their understanding for foreigners was often confused or wrong, because they heard it from other foreigners.....the Chinese people had regarded all foreigners as the barbarians, because they believe that only they had the true science and knowledge'³.

However, such superiority was built on ignorance, so it was also easy to be destroyed by the reality, and then rapidly converted to self-abasement. Ricci accurately captured the Chinese people's national character, he used the Western as an example, commented: 'Chinese people had a naive temper, when they did not know the foreign music, they satisfied with their own music. As soon as they found out the western music was better, they would love it more than their own music.'⁴

To sum up, Matteo Ricci offered us a vivid, stereo, multi-dimensional image of China. His deep understanding of Confucian society was based on his missionary experiences; in return, his incisive perception of China helped him to adjust his

¹ M. Ricci, *Lettere*, p. 100.

² M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 9.

³ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 85.

⁴ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*. p. 22.

missionary strategy. Facing Chinese people's antiforeigner attitude, Ricci realized that he need to learn Chinese, to read Confucian classics, even to dress like a Chinese, because only in this way, the suspiciousness could be gradually reduced. Facing outstanding prestige of literati, Ricci tried to build his personal image as a Confucian scholar. Nevertheless, if a foreigner truly wanted to be accepted by the society, by the class of literati, he should establish the good relationships with the literati, furthermore, he should try to develop the friendship with them.

As we all know, Ricci's knowledge of science and exquisite artefacts already helped him won some reputation, but that was not enough.

If he wanted to enter the spiritual world of Chinese literati, he must show them his ethical wisdom. As he realized before, the ethics was the most important material according to the Chinese literati. In order to earn a chance to communicate with Confucian scholars on equal level, in 1595 Ricci wrote *Treatise on Friendship*, and this book achieved an unexpected success.

We must wonder that why Matteo Ricci chose the friendship as his book's subject? Why the content of his treatise was so attractive to the Chinese literati? Through his treatise, how the Confucian thought and Greco-Roman though encountered?

In the next chapter, we will discuss all these questions.

CHAPTER III

Treatise on Friendship-Encounter and Interaction of Sino-western thought

In October 13, 1596, Matteo Ricci wrote a letter to Claudio Acquaviva, he has mentioned the information of *Treatise on Friendship*'s print, 'Last year I made all efforts to write *Treatise on Friendship* in Chinese, which cited the mottos and sentences of our famous philosophers. Thus this book caused a surprise success among the Chinese literati. I also invited the famous scholar FengYingjing to write a preface for my treatise in order to increase its authority. And then I presented it to the emperor's relative—Prince Ji'an, there are many scholars asked to read the book, and eager to transcribe it.'¹In the letter which was sent to Girolamo Costa, Ricci said: 'this book makes I gain unprecedented popularity. The prestige I gained before came from my mechanical technology, arts and crafts products, but *Treatise on Friendship*, this book brought my reputation which is related to my cultural literacy, talent and virtue, so I received the praise from all people. This book has been published in two places'². After more than ten years missionary activities in China, Ricci won the reputation due to the western science and technology that he introduced in China, including advanced astronomical algorithms, mapping techniques, mathematic theory etc. However, it is his *Treatise on Friendship* that helped him totally enter the spiritual world of the Chinese literati. The impacts of this ethical book need to be discussed in detail.

The book made Ricci to be respected by the Chinese literati, not as a distinguished astronomer, cartographers, or a mathematician, but as a scholar and ethicist who had virtue, talent, and wisdom. The resonance in discussing ethics quickly reduced the distance between Ricci and the Confucian scholars. Ricci was called 'Xi Tai' which meant a master came from the western world, this name showed Chinese literati's respect and approval for Ricci.

¹ M. Ricci, *Lettere*, p. 337.

² M. Ricci, *Lettere*, pp.363-364.

Feng Ying jing and Qu Tai su respectively made a preface for Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*, their opinion about friendship, about Ricci were all reflected in their prefaces. Through their preface, the impacts of Ricci's first ethical book could be revealed. *Treatise on Friendship* was completed by the end of 1595; twelve years had passed after his first arrival in China. Why Ricci chose friendship as the topic of his book? Analysing the writing background of his book will be helpful to understand the huge success achieved by *Treatise on Friendship*.

3.1 The writing background of *Treatise on Friendship*

3.1.1. Treatise on Friendship-the expansion of Valignano's policy of cultural accommodation

Before Ricci's arrival, Francesco Xavier tried to enter China, but he failed. In 1552, Xavier wrote a letter to Loyola and mentioned that two things must be done for the missionary in Japan: first, try to answer the questions that asked by Japanese people, at the same time, the Jesuits should express the respect for the local culture. Alessandro Valignano also emphasized that the missionaries should make a compromise with the local culture and ceremony¹. Valignano arrived in Goa four years before Ricci and traveled in the East. He reached Macao in August 1578 and stayed there for nearly a year. During Valignano's stay in Macao, his attention focused on China, the empire impervious to all foreign penetration that had already closed its doors to Francis Xavier and to all the Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican missionaries seeking entry after him. Making a summary of all the failure experiences, Valignano 'was convinced that the missionaries should learn the language of the country in which they were to work, study its way of life, adapt to the local customs, and respect the local traditions unless they proved repugnant to Christian morality'². This was his

¹ S. Pavone, *I Gesuiti: Dalle Origini Alla Soppressione* : 1540-1773. Roma ; Bari: Laterza, 2004. p. 67.

² M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman &

policy of cultural accommodation which was considered innovative at the time. The Jesuit sinologist Pasquale D'Elia made an explanation for this mission policy: 'the missionaries should become Indian in India, Chinese in China, and Japanese in Japan. This held for food, clothing, and social customs; in short, for everything that was not sinful'¹. In short, 'if it was to be won over to the Christian faith, it would be necessary to find missionaries prepared to adapt to the local culture and become 'Chinese in China'.² Ricci followed the instruction of Valignano, and strictly applied his policy of cultural accommodation. After entering China, Ricci changed his clothes for twice for the sake of getting acceptance from Chinese people and Chinese scholars. At last he dressed like a Confucian scholar. And Ricci started to learn Chinese and read the Confucian classics. When he already mastered Chinese and Confucian doctrine, Ricci tried to study the ethics, which was regarded as the highest knowledge by the Chinese literati. In this sense, we could tell that the writing of *Treatise on Friendship* was an important practice of Valignano's cultural accommodation policy. In some extent Ricci gradually became a 'chinese' from his outside to his inside. But this process was not finished in a short time. Ricci constantly summed up his experience and adjusted his strategy according to his understanding of Chinese society.

3.1.2. *Friendship-a way to get integrated into Chinese society*

According to *Della entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Ricci's missionary experience in China did not go smoothly, on the contrary, it was full of adversities. As Ricci's understanding of the Chinese nation mentality, the inherent rejection and suspicion towards foreigners made his missionary full of obstacles. But in the end Ricci still made great achievements, including Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao and other well-known scholars had converted to Christianity, in addition,

Littlefield Publishers, 2011. p. 27.

¹ M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. p. 27.

² Ibid.

China become a dependent parish under the governance of Ricci¹.

Why his missionary activity could become easier from a difficult beginning? The friendship between Ricci and Chinese literati had a very important effect on it. In *Della entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina* Ricci mentioned many times, the friendship with Chinese scholars and officials helped him to get through the difficulties. And they provided Ricci a strong protection for his personal safety, preventing him from the attacks of locals people. Moreover, Ricci could enjoy the social prestige due to the good relationship with the Chinese literati.

WangPan, QuTaisu, XuGuangqi, and LiZhizao were the famous scholars; they admire Ricci's knowledge and virtue, and made friends with Ricci. Their always offered protection for Ricci, tried to establish a reputation for him.

On account of Confucius, in social relations people only make friends with the people who have the same moral level with them². So when those famous Chinese literati made friends with Ricci, Chinese people would consider Ricci as educated as those literati. In this way, as a friend of those famous scholars, Ricci shared their reputation and prestige.

Friendship offered Ricci an opportunity to approach to Chinese intellectuals. Since ancient times, China was a society of etiquette and favor. Based on Confucian theory, the network of social relations was composed of five groups: ruler and subject; father and son; husband and wife; brothers and friends. Except friendship, other relationships were based on the status of monarch and subject, on the marriage, or on ties of blood. Only friendship was absolutely a personal choice. Ricci realized that in a closed and hierarchical society, as a foreign missionary, if he wanted to be accepted into the society, he must become some famous scholar's friend. Through making friends with Chinese literati, he could get the identity of 'someone's friend', and then with the help of his friends, he could overcome many barriers and difficulties.

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*. pp. 407-408.

² Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits) , *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980. p. 5.

It can be said, Ricci chose friendship as the theme of his ethical book, probably because of his twenty-eight years experience of missionary in China. Based on the understanding of Chinese nationality, and characters of the society, he was aware of the significances of friendship. Perhaps, he also wanted to show his gratitude to all the friends who helped him before. More importantly, he tried to use this ethical book to arouse the resonance of Chinese literati, just like Feng Ying jing wrote in his preface: 'I am convinced that the western and the oriental civilizations shared the same thought and principal'¹. Finding common points in ethical area would eliminate the gap between East and West. Logically, if something in common could be found in ethical and moral parts, then in the other parts, such as religious theory also could be understood and accepted.

Johnathan Spence analyzed: 'Ricci hopes to impress Chinese people by his memory skills. He could inspire Chinese people's interest in his culture. And this kind of interest in the culture could make Chinese people be interested in his God'². Morality was a significant topic for Chinese scholars to study and discuss, if Ricci could grasp the knowledge of morality, then he could use it to draw attention of Chinese literati, to engage the discussion with them. In other words, the morality was a door to open the world of Chinese literati class.

For Ricci, whether his Western science and technology, skills artifacts, or the memory skills, even the discussion of friendship, were the methods to help him to enter the Chinese society. He established spiritual connections with Chinese scholars through this ethical book.

Ricci also recognized that Western science and technology were not attractive enough to make Chinese people convert to Christianity. Therefore, Ricci took the first step. He began to introduce the western morality and try to make Chinese people accept the western ethics.

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 58.

² J. D. Spence, Chen Heng, Mei Yizheng (edit), *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong press, 2005. p. 194.

3.1.3 *Friendship-Bridge of Sino-western cultural exchange*

Another reason why Ricci selected 'friendship' as the topic of his ethical book was its universality. As a topic, 'friendship' was discussed by so many western and Chinese philosophers. On account of its universality, friendship could arouse resonance between these two different civilizations.

Classical writers and philosophers made so much discussion on the friendship.

Plato's *Lysis* and *Symposium*, These two dialogues are related to friendship, *Lysis* was the dialogue between Socrates and two youngsters, they talked about what was the real friendship. And *Lysis* could be seen as the main text of Plato's friendship view.

Aristotle's thought about friendship mainly were reflected in *Nicomachean Ethic*. In this book, he discussed the relations between friendship and justice. In Aristotle's theory system, ethics is an important complement to political science.

Matteo Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* and Martino Maritini's *De Amicitia* (Hang Zhou, 1661) were mainly based on Cicero's *Treatise on Friendship*, by means of textual analysis, it's easy to find the correspondent parts. In opinion of scholar Mary Dorothea, she made comparison about Cicero's friendship view and Saint Ambrose's, proved that they shared so many opinions, thus, the Christian friendship view must be influenced by Cicero¹. So as a missionary, Matteo Ricci cited Cicero's thoughts, it was very reasonable. We could assume that Cicero's *Treatise on Friendship* was the main foundation of Matteo Ricci's discussion about friendship.

Friendship in the Greco-Roman era aroused heated discussions among philosophers. Confucian thought also contained many elaborations about friendship. As the representative of Confucianism, Confucius in the beginning of *Analects* said: 'meeting the friends from distant lands makes people feel extremely happy.'² Another

¹ M. Dorothea, *Cicero and Saint Ambrose Treatise on Friendship*, The Classical Journal, Vol. 43. No.4, Jan (1948) .

² Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980. p. 1.

representative of Confucianism--Mencius discussed in social relations: 'ethics teach people to do like this: father and son should love each other; monarch and subject should obey moral principle, husband and wife should keep the difference, the older and younger should obey the order, friends should be sincere and honest to each other.'¹ Confucianism divided the social relationships into five groups including friendship. Furthermore, Mencius mentioned the principle of maintaining friendship; people should be honest and keep promise to their friends.

Except Confucius and Mencius doctrine, FengYingjing and QuTaisu expressed their views of friendship in the prefaces of *Treatise on Friendship*. In addition, their views of friendship in some extent could stand for the whole Chinese literati class. In the late Ming Dynasty, Chinese scholars generally emphasized the importance of friendship; they even considered that the friendship excelled ties of blood. In their prefaces, they mentioned that, friends should help each other and promote each other, and friendship should be based on the respect of individuality.

In summary, both ancient Greco-Roman philosophers, and Confucian intellectuals paid attention to friendship, and spread heat discussions on it.

Ricci chose such a universal topic, in order to build a bridge of Sino-western communications in the ethical field.

3.1.4 *Treatise on Friendship-Meet the social atmosphere of the late Ming Dynasty*

Ricci advocated the significance of friendship in his *Treatise on Friendship*, and he mentioned the absolute equality between friends. All these opinions met the psychological desire of Chinese scholars². In the late Ming Dynasty, Confucian scholars focused on the communications with others, and cherished friendship. The darkness of political situation made them feel the necessity of binding with others, only in this way, they could gather together to fight with the political enemies. The

¹ Mencius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of Mengzi*, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1960. p. 111.

² Guan Qiming, *View of Friendship development: A critique on Matteo Ricci's On Frienship*, Journal of Guangdong Education Institue, vol. 25, No. 4 (2005).

sixteenth century was an era of change. On one hand, the introduction of Western Learning included western astronomy, mathematics, cartography and other western modern scientific knowledge, made the Chinese and western culture started to build a substantial communications. On the other hand, some internal changes happened in the Late Ming Dynasty, mainly manifested by the formation of certain academic groups. Under the dictatorship of eunuch and political corruption, these academic groups set off a trend. Neo-Confucianism went in decline, and Yangmingism also could not resolve the social problem. Hence the Chinese intellectuals wanted to find a new direction for the Confucianism, with the introduction of western learning, they began to accept the western thought, and they desire to absorb the western thought as a 'external assistance' to replenish the Confucian thought. Gradually, an open and positive atmosphere was formed among the Chinese intellectuals. Just under this historical background, Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* manifested the interaction of Sino-western thought. Thus, this kind of work was easily accepted by the Chinese literati.

In conclusion, Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* as his first ethical writing in Chinese achieved an unprecedented success. The Chinese intellectuals considered Matteo Ricci as a wise scholar and ethicist.

His missionary experience made Ricci realize the significance of friendship. Without the friendship with the Chinese literati, Ricci could not carry on his missionary, even his personal safety could not be guaranteed. Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* was a part of the cultural accommodation strategy which was advocated by Alessandro Valignano¹. With academic communications, the missionaries wanted to get close to the Chinese scholars, build friendship with them, broaden their social relations, and finally be accepted by the society. This common theme helped Ricci gain the equal position to talk with the Chinese literati. Furthermore, his *Treatise on Friendship* met the psychological needs of the intellectuals in the late Ming Dynasty. The Chinese literati always sent Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* as a gift to their

¹ M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. p. 25.

friends. From one side this phenomenon could prove its popularity.

3.2 The content of *Treatise on Friendship*

3.2.1 Editions of *Treatise on Friendship*

Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* was finished by the end of 1595, at that time Ricci already mastered Chinese, and learnt the Confucian classics. His cultural deposits and understanding of Confucianism were manifested in his ethical essay.

According to Italian scholar Filippo Mignini, there are ten versions of Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*¹.

The first one was finished in 1596, is more likely to be the end of 1595, Ricci's friend Su Dayong in Ningtu published his *Treatise on Friendship*.

The edition of 1599 in Nanjing is more likely to be pressed by Qu Tai Su. Ricci invited him to write a preface for this book, the exact date was January 27th 1599. Although this version does not leave the sample, but the preface made by Qu Tai Su was saved in Li Zhi zao' *TianXueChuHan*.

For the third version, although we are not sure whether it was published by Li Zhi, or was edited by him into a new version. It is more likely that Li Zhi published Ricci's original manuscript.

The fourth edition was re-printed by Feng Ying jing in 1601 in Beijing, this booklet contains one hundred mottos. The exact date of preface was marked as February 9th 1601. Without the consent of Matteo Ricci, this version was stamped with the seal of Jesuits. A copy of this version is stored in the National Library in Rome.

In addition, in 1602, Wang Ken Tang selected forty sentences from Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* in his book *YuGangZhaiBiChen*.

According to Louis Pfister, it is possible that there is another version of *Treatise*

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. pp.28-30.

on *Friendship*, published in 1603 in Beijing. But he is the only one mentioned this version.

From 1603 to 1608, (according to D'Elia's view is in 1607) another version edited by Li Zhizao in Zhejiang. This inference is based on information provided by Ricci himself, he said 'Li Zhizao re-printed *Treatise on Friendship* and our other works, it can be seen that he had a great enthusiasm for our culture and thought' ¹,

In 1629, *Treatise on Friendship* was collected in Li Zhi zao' *TianXueChuHan*, which is the first catholic codification in China.

According to Dehergne, Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* was repeatedly cited by Chinese Collection, totally or partly. Since the late Ming Dynasty, he believed that Ricci's book was cited at least eight times. Finally, Ricci's essay was also collected by *Gu Jin Tu Shu Ji Cheng* (古今图书集成) in 1726, which was regarded as the encyclopedia of China.

Even though there were ten versions of Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* in history, but there are only four samples to be conserved, including:

The version of 1601, with the preface of FengYingjing, was re-printed in Beijing. This version contains 100 sentences.

The version of 1629, Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* was collected in Li Zhi zao' *TianXueChuHan*. This version contains 76 mottos and the prefaced made by Qu Tai su.

The version of 1726 was collected in *GuJinTuShuJiCheng*.

The last version of 2001 was collected in *Li Madou Zhong Wen Zhu Yi Ji*². This book was published in Shanghai, was edited by ZhuWeizheng.³

In my essay, I will choose the version of 1601 and 1629, which contain two prefaces as the research example, and then make the textual analysis of Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*.

¹ M. Ricci, *Dell'entrata Della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, p. 375.

² M. Ricci, Weizheng Zhu, and Zhifeng Deng (edit), *Collection of Matteo Ricci's Chinese treatises*, Xiang gang: Xianggang cheng shi da xue press, 2001.

³ M. Ricci, and F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. pp. 28-30.

3.2.2 The textual analysis of *Treatise on Friendship*

Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* applied the aphoristic style, so the content does not have the strict logic. And Ricci did not provide a citation for us, thus the difficulty of textual analysis was manifested in examining the origins of each sentence. American historian Jonathan Spence considered that the mottos of Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* increased from 76 to 100 items, in fact, this procedure reflected the recall of Ricci's education in Jesuit¹. Spence believes Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* 'mainly refers to Andrea de Resende's works². According to scholar Fang Hao, among that 100 mottos, 76 sentences were taken from twenty-eight European philosophers, including Plato's *Lysis*, Aristotle's *Ethics*, Horace's *Odes*, Cicero's *Laelius de Amicitia*, St. Augustine's *Confessions* etc³. Chinese scholar Sun Shangyang thought Matteo Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* was based on *Sententiae Et Exempla* which was a book published in 1590 in Paris⁴. Italian scholar Filippo Mignini examined the origin of every motto in *Dell'Amicizia*'s index⁵. Another Italian scholar Michela Fontana also listed the authors of mottos, which included 'Horace ('My friend is nothing other than half of me, and so I must treat him as I treat myself'); Cicero ('The world without friendship would be like the sky with no sun'); Aristotle ('If there were no friendship in the world, there would be no joy'); Saint Augustine ('He to whom I can show my heart completely becomes my intimate friend'); Martial on the vulnerability of those who open their hearts to feelings ('If I have few friends, I have little joy, but also little sadness'); Erasmus on the need for honesty ('The fulsome praise of friends does me more harm than the undue criticism of enemies'); and Seneca ('If you cannot be a friend to yourself, how can you be a friend to others?')'⁶.

¹ J. D. Spence, Chen Heng and Mei Yizheng (edit), *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong press, 2005. p.196.

² Ibid.

³ Fang, Hao. *New Research of Matteo Ricci's Treatise on Friendship*, Taipei: Xue Sheng Shu Ju, 1969.

⁴ Sun, Shangyang. *The Christianity and the Chinese literati in the late Ming Dynasty*, Beijing: Dongfang press, 1994. pp. 8, 32.

⁵ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. pp. 181-185.

⁶ M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman &

In further, Filippo Minigni pointed out that Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* was deeply influenced by Chinese Confucianism. Because Ricci was familiar to the Confucian classics, he did not neglect the essence of Confucianism about friendship. He mentioned that in *The Doctrine of Mean*, building friendship was one of five duties. In *Analects*, the sincerity between friends was advocated, and Confucius taught us that the solid and true friendship can only be established among people who share the same moral level¹. From the letter of Matteo Ricci, we could know, in 1599 he already started to translate the four books and five classics, and later he invited the Confucian scholars to teach him. The most important base was the letter he wrote to Father Costa, he said, 'I feel, the Italian translation of my essay is not so attractive like the Chinese version. When I wrote this essay, in order to cater to the tastes and interest of Chinese people, I made some changes of these western mottos'². And this kind of adjustment and changes may incorporated the Confucian ethical doctrines.

The origins of mottos in Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* stand for the Greco-Roman thought, and the accommodation made by Ricci stand for the influences of Confucian thought, hence, in this way, the Greco-Roman thought and Confucian thought meet each other in Ricci's ethical essay.

The prefaces made by Qu Tai su and Feng Ying jing are very useful for the research of Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*. As the representatives of the prestigious intellectuals at that time, their opinions and attitudes about Ricci and Ricci's essay to a certain extent stand for the whole intellectual class. Therefore, by means of analyzing their prefaces, we could find more information with which the reason of its popularity could be understood in a better way.

The translation of Feng Ying jing and Qu Tai su's preface will be listed below.

3.2.2.1 *The preface made by FengYing jing*

Littlefield Publishers, 2011. p. 128.

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di Filippo Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 19.

² M. Ricci, *Lettere*, p. 363.

刻交友論序¹

①西泰子間關入萬里，東遊於中國，為交友也。②其悟交道也深，故其相求也切，相與也篤，而論交道獨詳。③嗟夫，友之所繫大矣哉！④君臣不得不義，父子不得不親，夫婦不得不別，長幼不得不序，是烏可無交？⑤夫交非汎汎然相謹洽，相施報而已；相比相益，相矯相成，根於其中之不容已，而極於其終之不可解，乃稱為交。⑥世未有我以面，而友以心者，亦未有我以心，而友以面者。⑦烏有友聲，人有友生，烏無偽也，而人容偽乎哉？⑧京不敏，蚤溺鉛槧，未遑負笈求友，壯遊東西南北，乃因王事敦友誼，視西泰子迢遙山海，以交友為務，殊有餘愧，爰有味乎其論，而益信東海西海，此心此理也。⑨付之剞劂，冀觀者知京重交道，勿忍見棄，即顏未承，詞未接，願以神交，知陽燧向日，方諸向月，水火相應以生。⑩京何敢忘總，《交友論》凡百章，藉以為求友之贊。

Translation:

① Matteo Ricci, master from the western world, he arrived in the east after a trip of 80 thousand miles².

② He wanted to make friends with Chinese people neglecting all the difficulties and obstacles. Matteo Ricci knows well about friendship, he desires to make friends with others, and he has a strong mind to maintain friendship. Thus, his discussion about friendship is very specific.

③ Friendship is such a significant thing!

④ Monarch and subject should respect each other; father and son should love each other; husband and wife should keep the differences; brothers should obey the order; so why people could be lack of friendship?

⑤ The superficial harmony is not true friendship; true friends should compared with each other, should help each other, then they could correct and achieve mutual improvement. The friendship is based on the individuality. Respecting each other's personality, and then still being together, that's the true friendship.

⑥ there is no friendship like this, I treat my friends with surface manners, but friends treat me with true heart. Or I treat my friends with true hearts, but friends treat

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. pp. 52-61.

² Li was a length unit. In the Ming Dynasty one 'Li' was equal to 500 meters.

me with surface manners.

⑦ Birds get together to sing, people could survive because of friendship. Birds will not accept the false friendship, why people could tolerate the false friendship?

⑧ I am not wise, when I was young, I was addicted to reading, so I did not have time to travel and make friends. Later on, I travelled around because of the official order. When I saw Master Ricci climbed the mountain crossed the sea to come to China, aiming at making friends, I felt ashamed for myself. I think about his essay, I am convinced that the east and west share the same doctrine and sentiment.

⑨ I print this book, and hope the readers could understand that I am a person who cherishes friendship. My friends do not allow me to be abandoned. Even though I never met Master Ricci before, let alone exchange our essays. I just want we could make the spiritual communication. The social life is born from friendship, and the friendship sustains our own development.

⑩ I do not dare to forget the virtue of my friends, Ricci's Treatise on Friendship with 100 sentences, could be used as a gift for friends.

Actually, in Feng Ying jing's preface, the importance of friendship was emphasized. From his preface, we could see his approval and admiration of Ricci. He called Ricci Master, and treated Ricci as a Confucian scholar, in this sense, Ricci was accepted by Chinese literati, like Feng Ying jing.

Feng pointed out that the foundation of friendship relied on mutual effort and dedication. Surface harmony is not true friendship, mutual promotion and mutual criticism should be done between real friends. Most importantly, he cherished the individuality of everyone, respecting each other's personality, and then still being friends, that is the true friendship. Another opinion worthy to be mentioned is the common doctrine between the east and western world, at least, on the friendship, the east and west share the same principle. The reason why he attached importance to friendship was related to his personal adversity. Due to the conflicts with eunuch Feng Feng, he was captured into prison. In this difficult period, friendship became his mental support.

大西域利公友論序

①昔周家積德累仁，光被四表，以致越裳、肅慎，重譯來獻。周文公讓而不居，曰「正朔不加，未敢臣畜」。於是以賓禮賓之，而《周官》《王會》，著在史冊。②自時厥後，漢通漠磧，唐聘海邦，雖亦殊域，並至德感，鮮稱故庭，實則繁而論著罔列。③洪惟我大明中天，冠絕百代，神聖繼起，德覆無疆，以致遐方碩德如利公者，慕化來款，匪希聞達，願列編氓，誦聖謨，遵王度，受冠帶，祠春秋，躬守身之行，以踐真修，申敬事天之旨，以裨正學。即楚材、希憲，未得與利公同日語也。④萬曆己丑，不佞南遊羅浮，因訪司馬節齋劉公，與利公遇於端州。目擊之頃，已遷然異之矣。及司馬公徙公於韶，予適過曹谿，又與公遇於是，從公講象數之學，凡兩年而別。⑤別公六年所，而公益北學中國，抵豫章，撫臺仲鶴陸公留之駐南昌，暇與建安郡王殿下論及友道，著成一編。公舉以示不佞，俾為一言弁之。⑥予思桔矢白雉，非關名理，而古先哲王猶頒示之，以昭明德；今利公其彌天之資，匪徒來賓，服習聖化，以我華文，譯彼師授，此心此理，不更在桔矢白雉百累之上哉！⑦至其論義精粹，中自具足，無俟拈出矣，然千公特百分一耳，或有如房相國融等，為筆授其性命理數之說，勒成一家，藏之通國，副在名山，使萬世而不有知其解者，未必非昭事上天之準的也。

Translation:

① In ancient time, the family of Zhou accumulated their virtue, and the good policy developed constantly, the glory spread everywhere, so all the nations come to offer a tribute. But Zhou Wen gong refused to become king, he said: 'the calendar (law) was not established, so I do not dare to treat you as subject.' So I will treat you in manner of guest. This event was recorded in the history.

② From the Han Dynasty, we connected with the area of dessert, the Tang Dynasty connected with all the countries around. Even though they were different from us, but still were attracted by our virtue. However, in their countries, the book of virtue was really rare, because they elaborate the opinions in a disorder.

③ Only our Ming Dynasty was greater than all the previous dynasties. All the emperors, one after another, their virtue was always growing. Therefore who had

great virtue, just like Mr. Ricci, was attracted by our civilization, and would like to visit us. They don't want talk about themselves, they don't want to distinguish themselves from us, and instead, they would like to be treated among the common people. They read the classics; they obey the law which was enacted by the emperors. They wear the Confucian cloth, and they offer the rituals to the sky in the spring and autumn. Beyond that they act in a proper way, under the guide of Confucian theory, they showed the desire to serve the god of the sky in order to make the Confucian doctrine useful. Even the Yelu Chucai, and Xihui could not be compared with Mr. Ricci.

④ In 1589, I travelled to the mountain Luo Fu, I visited scholar Liu Jie zhai, and met Master Ricci in DunZhou. When I saw him at the firs sight, I already realized his distinctive character. And then I was sent to Shaozhou, I met Master Ricci again. I have attended to his mathematic lessons for two years. And then I left.

⑤ After six years of our separation, Master Ricci travelled in YuZhang in order to learn more about China. He lived in NanChang, and in the leisure time, Master Ricci finished his essay of Friendship. Master Ricci showed me this book, and asked me to write preface.

⑥ Master Ricci has the talent as vast as the sky, he came to our country, not only as a guest, he obeyed Confucian doctrines, and translated the knowledge that he learned from his teachers. The way of thinking has no difference between the east and west. I write this preface in order to make this book spread in our country. Master Ricci's Treatise on Friendship is a good omen for us.

⑦ The essence of his essay is expressed in a complete way; hence there is non need to be emphasized. However, Master Ricci's capacity is not expressed totally in this book. He established school, printed books, and put it in the famous mountains, so that the future generations could understand its meaning. Master Ricci achieved his goal of serving the God.

We must admit that, the prefaces of Qu and Feng have so many opinions in common. In their eyes, Matteo Ricci was not a foreign missionary anymore, in fact, he become a Chinese. Speaking Chinese, reading Confucian classics, writing in

Chinese, even teaching Chinese people the Confucian classics in return, Matteo Ricci positively participated into Chinese society. Both Qu and Feng affirmed the importance of friendship, and they admired Ricci's essay, in further, they admitted the coincidence between the east and west through the common topic—friendship.

3.2.2.3 Matteo Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*

Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* was re-printed by Feng in 1601, this version contains 100 sentences. The edition of 1629 contains 76 sentences and the preface of Qu. Italian scholar Filippo Mignini made a comparison of these two editions. Compared with the edition of 1601, the edition of 1629 missed 24 sentences: 14, 17, 38, 60, 64, 71-75, 78, 83-94, 97. The corresponding parts of two editions have only slight differences in expression, but there is not much difference on the meaning. Thus, in my essay, the edition of 1601 will be used as a research example.

The content of Matteo Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* is listed below.

The preface of *Treatise on Friendship* which was written by Matteo Ricci:

友論引

竇也，自最西航海入中華，仰大明天子之文德，古先王之遺教，卜室嶺表，星霜亦屢易矣。今年春時，度嶺浮江，抵於金陵，觀上國之光，沾沾自喜，以為庶幾不負此遊也。遠覽未周，返棹至豫章，停舟南浦，縱目西山，玩奇挹秀，計此地為人淵藪也。低回留之不能去，遂捨舟就舍，因而走見建安王。荷不鄙，許之以長揖，賓序設醴驩甚。王乃移席握手而言曰：「凡有德行之君子，辱臨吾地，未嘗不請而友且敬之。西邦為道義之邦，願聞其論友道何如。」竇退而從述曩少所聞，輯成友道一帙，敬陳於左。

The translation is below:

I, Matteo Ricci, sailed to China from the far away Western World. I admire the virtue and heritage of the emperors of the Ming dynasty. I have lived in Ling Nan for several years. This spring I crossed the mountains and rivers, finally arrived at Jing Ling. I happily visited the city, and thought this trip was worthwhile. However, I

haven't finished the visiting; the boat turned round and went to Yu Zhang (Nan Chang). We stopped at Nan Pu and saw so many beautiful sceneries. Hence we regarded this place as a home of sage. After a while of hesitation, I decided to go ashore, and live there. That's why later on I could visit the princess Jian'an. The princess Jian'an never despised me, and allowed me to make a bow to him. He treated me as a guest. The princess Jian'an gave a banquet for me holding my hands, and said: 'every time when the educated gentleman came to my place, I always hold a banquet for them, and treated them as my friends. The western world is a place with morality and justice. So I wonder that what westerners think about friendship'. I left the banquet and closed the door for thinking. Now I organized all the arguments about friendship which I heard and learned several years ago in this treatise.

In this preface, Ricci made a brief introduction about how he met the Prince Jian'an and why he wrote Treatise on Friendship.

The content of Ricci' treatise is listed below with the English and Italian translation¹.

交友論²

1. 吾友非他，即我之半，乃第二我也，故當視友如己焉。

Friend is not someone else, is the other half of me, the second of me, so I regard a friend as myself.

'Il mio amico non è altro che la metà di me stesso; anzi, un altro me stesso. Perciò devo considerare l'amico come me stesso.'³

2. 友之與我，雖有二身，二身之內，其心一而已。

A friend for me is one heart in two bodies.

¹ All the Italian translation of Dell'amicizia was cited from this book. I listed it here with the English translation in order to make a comparison between Chinese original text, English and Italian translation.

² M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. pp. 64-97.

³ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p.65.

‘Sebbene l’amico e io abbiamo due corpi, nei due corpi c’è un cuore solo’¹.

3. 相須相佑，為結友之由。

Need each other, help each other, that is the reason why we make friends.

‘Ragion d’essere dell’amicizia sono il bisogno reciproco e il mutuo aiuto’².

4. 孝子繼父之所交友，如承受父之產業矣。

A filial son inherits his father’s friends, just as inherits his father’s property.

‘Il figlio devoto eredita le amicizie del padre come ne riceve le proprietà’³.

5. 時當平居無事，難指友之真偽；臨難之頃，則友之情顯焉。蓋事急之際，友之真者益近密，偽者益疏散矣。

Without incident, it is hard to determine the authenticity of a friend; the friendship will be showed in difficulties. At a critical time, true friends become more intimate, false friends become more and more alienated.

‘Quando tutto procede tranquillamente e non ci sono contrarietà, è difficile distinguere i veri dai falsi amici; ma quando le avversità sopraggiungono, si dimostra l’amicizia. Infatti, nel momento dell’urgenza I veri amici si avvicinano sempre più., mentre I falsi si allontanano sempre più.’⁴

6. 有為之君子，無異仇，必有善友。如無異仇以加儆，必有善友以相資。

交友之先宜察，交友之後宜信。

If a gentleman has no enemies, and there must be good friends. Before making friends, people should examine him, when we become friends; we need to trust each other.

‘Un uomo di grande virtù, se non ebbe nemici fuor dal commune, ebbe certamente buoni amici. Prima di contrarre amicizia, bisogna osservare; dopo averla

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell’amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 65.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid.

contratta, bisogna fidarsi.’¹

7. 雖智者亦謬計己友多乎實矣。愚人妄自侈口，友似有而還無；智者抑或謬計，友無多而實少。

Even the wise man will inevitably mistake his friend with the actual number. Fool people claim that they have a lot of friends, in fact, they have none. Sometimes the wise man miscalculates the number of friends.

‘Anche il saggio s’illude, pensando di avere più amici di quanti non ne abbia in realtà. Lo sciocco si vanta di amici presunti, ma che di fatto non ha; il saggio, invece, talvolta s’illude di averne molti, mentre in realtà sono pochi’².

8. 友之饋友而望報，非饋也，與市易者等耳。

Someone gives gift to friends and hopes to be rewarded. He is not offering a gift, but doing business.

‘L’amico, che fa un regalo all’amico aspettandone ricompensa, non sta facendo un regalo, ma è uguale a un venditore al mercato’³.

9. 友與仇，如樂與鬩，皆以和否辨之耳。故友以和為本焉。以和微業長大，以爭大業消敗。樂以導和，鬩則失利。友相和則如樂，仇不和則如鬩。

Friends and enemies, like music and noise, can be used to identify whether or not harmonious. Harmony is the foundation of friendship.

The harmony makes friendship grow, conflicts make friendship fade away. The harmony between friends looks like music, the hatred between enemies looks like noise.

‘L’amicizia e l’inimicizia sono come la musica e il frastuono, che si distinguono a second ache ci sia o non ci sia armonia: infatti l’essenza dell’amicizia è l’armonia. Con la Concordia le cose piccolo crescono, con la Discordia le cose grandi crollano.

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell’amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 65.

² M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell’amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 67.

³ Ibid.

La musica conduce alla Concordia, mentre il frastuono conduce alla Discordia. L'accordo degli amici è come la musica; il disaccordo dei nemici è come il frastuono.'¹

10. 在患時，吾惟喜看友之面。然或患或親，何時友無有益？憂時減憂，欣時增欣。

In adversity, I am pleased to see the faces of friends. However, regardless of trouble or joy, when a friend will be useless? When I feel anxious, friends ease my anxiety; when I am happy, friends increase my delight.

‘Nell’avversità mi rallegro al solo vedere il volto di un amico. Ma, sia nell’avversità sia nella buona fortuna, quando mai un amico non ci è di aiuto? Quando siamo tristi, diminuisce la tristezza; quando siamo gioiosi, aumenta la gioia.’²

11. 仇之惡以殘仇，深於友之愛以恩友，豈不驗世之弱於善，強於惡哉！

The hatred that makes us inflict injuries upon enemies is deeper than the love that makes us bestow kindnesses upon friends. Is this not evidence that the world is weak in goodness and strong in wickedness?

‘L’odio dei nemici, nel farsi del male, è più profondo dell’amore degli amici, nel farsi bene. Non si dimostra, con questo, che il mondo è debole per il bene e forte per il male?’³

12. 人事情莫測，友誼難憑。今日之友，後或變而成仇；今日之仇，亦或變而為友。可不敬慎乎！

The change of life is unpredictable; it is difficult to rely Treatise on Friendship. Friends of today are likely to become enemies; enemies of today may also become friends in the future. Can not we be careful of it?

‘Le vicissitudini umane sono imprevedibili; dunque è difficile contare

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 67.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

sull'amicizia: l'amico di oggi forse in seguito cambierà e diventerà nemico; il nemico di oggi forse anche cambierà e diventerà amico. Come potremmo non essere cauti.'¹

13. 徒試之於吾幸際，其友不可恃也。脈以左手驗耳，左手不幸際也。

I can not trust a friend who is only taking the test in prosperity caution. If you take the pulse with your left hand, then the left hand will tell you when it goes wrong.

‘Se metto alla prova l'amico soltanto nel tempo della mia prosperità, non mi potrò fidare di lui. Il polso si tasta alla mano sinistra; la mano sinistra ci fa sapere quando qualcosa non va.’²

14. 既死之友，吾念之無憂，蓋在時，我有之如可失，及既亡，念之如猶在焉。

I can miss deceased friends without sorrow and anxiety. Because when he is alive, I may have the possibility to lose him. When he is dead, I will miss him as if he was still alive.

‘Ricordo gli amici morti senza tristezza, perché quando c'erano li avevo come se potessi perderli; or anche sono morti li ricordo come se fossero ancora vivi.’³

15. 各人不能全盡各事，故上帝命之交友，以彼此胥助。若使除其道於世者，人類必散壞也。

Since nobody could do everything, so the God ask us to make friends in order to help each other. If we do not obey this principle, we will ruin ourselves.

‘Il singolo uomo non può compiere ogni cosa; perciò il Signore del Cielo ha comandato agli uomini l'amicizia, affinché si prestassero reciproco aiuto. Se si togliesse dal mondo questo precetto, il genere umano sicuramente si disperderebbe.’⁴

16. 可以與竭露發予心，始為知己之友也。

Friend is the person to whom I could open my whole heart.

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 67.

² M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 69.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

‘Soltanto colui al quale posso rivelare completamente il mio cuore comincia a essere mio intimo amico.’¹

17. 德志相似，其友始固。又也，雙又耳，彼又我，我又彼。

People with similar qualities and aspirations maintain a solid friendship. Friend, is composed of two characters ‘又’, that means friend is me, at the same time, I am him.

‘Se le virtue e gli ideali sono simili, allora l’amicizia sarà solida. L’ideogramma amico 友 è composto da due come 又, [per significare che] l’amico è me e io sono lui.’²

18. 正友，不常順友，亦不常逆友。有理者順之，無理者逆之，故直言獨為友之責矣。

A true friend does not often follow friends, nor often be against with friends. But when friends are rational, you should follow them; when friends are wrong, you should remind them. Be frankly is the responsibility of a true friend.

‘L’amico vero non segue sempre l’amico né sempre gli si oppone: quando ha ragione gli dà ascolto, quando non ha ragione, gli si oppone. Perciò dire la verità è dovere proprio dell’essere amico.’³

19. 交友如醫疾，然醫者誠愛病者，必惡其病也。彼以救病之故，傷其體，苦其口。醫者不忍病者之身，友者宜忍友之惡乎？諫之諫之，何恤其耳之逆，何畏其額之蹙！

Making friends just like seeing a doctor. Doctors care for patients, hate disease. For treatment, doctors make patients feel physical pain and bitter their mouth. Doctors can not accept the illness, how could we bear friends’ bad manners? We should offer good advice to friends, offer good advice to them; we do not need to fear about their unhappiness and anger.

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 69.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

‘Fare amicizia è come curare una malattia: se il medico ama veramente l’ammalato, odia di certo la sua malattia. Per curarlo della malattia, egli ferisce il suo9 corpo e dà amaro alla sua bocca. Se il medico non risparmia il corpo del malato, potrebbe mai l’amico tollerare i vizi dell’amico? Riprendilo! Riprendilo! Perché avere compassione delle sue orecchine ribelli? Perché aver paura della sua fronte corrugata?’¹

20. 友之譽，及仇之訕，並不可盡信焉。

We could not totally believe neither the praise of a friend nor the slander of a enemy.

‘Né alle lodi degli amici né alle detrazioni dei nemici si può credere interament.’²

21. 友者於友，處處時時，一而已。誠無近遠、內外、面背、異言、異情也。

The relationship and comments between friends will never be different according to diverse distance, inside and outside, in front and back front.

‘L’amico verso l’amico è sempre lo stesso. In verità, né le parole né I sentimenti devono essere diversi a second ache si stia vicini o lontani, dentro o fuori, di fronte o dietro.’³

22. 友人無所善我，與仇人無所害我等焉。

A friend who can not be conductive to me, just like an enemy who is unharmed to me.

‘L’amico che non mi fa nessun bene è simile al nemico che non mi fa nessun male.’⁴

23. 友者過譽之害，較仇者過訾之害猶大焉。友人譽我，我或因而自矜；仇人訾我，我或因而加謹。

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 71.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

Friends' excessive praise is even more harmful than the defamation of enemies. If a friend praises me, I may be proud of it; if an enemy slanders me, I might be more cautious.

‘Il male che mi fanno le lodi esagerate degli amici è ancora più grave del male che mi fanno le critiche esagerate dei nemici.’¹

24. 視財勢友人者，其財勢亡，即退而離焉，謂既不見其初友之所以然，則友之情遂渙矣。

When a person makes friends because of wealth, he will leave according to the change of economic situation. And then he will say the reason why made friends is gone, the friendship certainly dissipated.

‘Se si fa amicizia per la ricchezza, quando la ricchezza è finita, l'amico si allontana e lasica; poiché non c'è più la ragione iniziale dell'amicizia, l'affetto verso l'amico svanisce.’²

25. 友之定，於我之不定事，試之可見矣。

If you want to know friends' firmness, just test him in circumstances of your own changes, then you could find a true friend.

‘Metto alla prova e scopro l'amico, che non cambia, nelle mie cose che cambiano.’³

26. 爾為吾之真友，則愛我以情，不愛以物也。

If you are my true friend, please love me with emotion, not with implements.

‘Se sei mio vero amico, allora mi ami per l'affetto, non per le cose.’⁴

27. 交友使獨知利己，不復顧益其友，是商賈之人耳，不可謂友也。小人交友如放帳，惟計利幾何。

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 71.

² M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 73.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

Making friends for his own profits, neglect friends' profits, this is the way of merchant, not of a friend. Villains make friends just like loaning money to others; they only take care of the interests.

‘Chi nel contrarre amicizia cerca soltanto il suo interesse e non si preoccupa di beneficiare l'amico, è un mercante, non un amico. L'uomo volgare contrae amicizia come se prestasse soldi: egli non calcola se non l'interesse.’¹

28. 友之物，皆與共。

Friends could share the thing they have.

‘Le cose degli amici sono tutte comuni.’²

29. 交友之貴賤，在所交之意耳，特據德相友者，今世得幾雙乎？

The intention of making friends decides whether the friendship is noble or humble. If people become friends in account of virtue, could we have several such friends in one life?

‘La nobiltà o la viltà dell'amicizia dipendono dall'intenzione che si ha nello stringerla. Quante coppie [di amici] ci sono al giorno d'oggi che stringono amicizia soltanto per la virtù?’³

30. 友之所宜，相宥有限。友或負罪，惟小可容；友如犯義，必大乃棄。

Mutual forgiveness between friends has a limit. Friends made a mistake; the small mistake can be tolerated; if a friend betrayed the moral, that is so serious, you should leave such a friend.

‘C'è un limite, entro il quale gli amici possono perdonarsi reciprocamente. Si può tollerare l'amico che commetta casualmente un errore soltanto leggero; si lascia l'amico che offenda la giustizia in modo veramente grave.’⁴

31. 友之樂多於義，不可久友也。

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 73.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

If friends share more pleasure than morality, then they could be friends for a long time.

‘Quando nell’amicizia il piacere prevale sulla virtù, non si può restare amici per lungo tempo.’¹

32. 忍友之惡，便以他惡為己惡焉。

If you tolerate the evil of a friend, then his evil will become yours.

‘Chi tollera I vizi dell’amico, fa suoi I vizi altrui.’²

33. 我所能為，不必望友代為之。

I do not want friends to help me, if I could deal with it.

‘Non devo aspettare che l’amico faccia in mia vece quell che posso fare io stesso.’³

34. 友者古之尊名，今出之以售，比之於貨，惜哉！

Friend was a precious name in the ancient time, but nowadays it is sold like goods, such a pity.

‘Amico era una parola venerata nell’antichità; ora si vende come un merce. Che peccato!’⁴

35. 友於昆倫邇，故友相呼謂兄，而善於兄弟為友。

Friendship is closer than brotherhood; therefore, friends call each other brother. And the intimate brothers call each other friend.

‘La relazione tra amici è più intima di quell ache c’è tra fratelli; perciò gli amici si chiamano tra loro ‘fratelli’ e i più intimi tra i fratelli sono ‘amici’.’⁵

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell’amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 73.

² M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell’amicizia*. P.75.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

36. 友之益世也，大乎財焉。無人愛財為財，而有愛友特為友耳。

Friendship is more helpful than possession. No one love possession because of it is possession, but someone love friends because of friendship.

‘L’amicizia è più utile al mondo che non le ricchezze. Non c’è nessuno che ami le ricchezze solo per le ricchezze, ma c’è chi ama l’amico solo per amico.’¹

37. 今也友既沒言，而諂諛者為佞，則惟存仇人，以我聞真語矣。

Nowadays, friends do not talk anymore, only flatters constantly make noisy. As a result of it, only enemies could let me hear the truth.

‘Oggi, poiché gli amici non parlano e gli adulatori sono loquaci, non mi restano che i nemici per udire parole di verità.’²

38. 設令我或被害於友，非但恨己害，乃滋恨其害自友發矣。

If my friend hurts me, I do not hate the harm, but the harm which comes from friends.

‘Se per caso ricevo un torto da un amico, non mi dispiace tanto del torto, quanto piuttosto del fatto che esso proviene da un amico.’³

39. 多有密友，便無密友也。

If someone has too many intimate friends, that means he has no one.

‘Chi ha troppi amici intimi, non ne ha nessuno.’⁴

40. 如我恆幸無禍，豈識友之真否哉！

If nothing horrible happens to me, how could I distinguish true friends from false friends?

‘Se mi trovo sempre nella prosperità e mai nelle avversità, come farò a distinguere il vero dal falso amico?’⁵

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. P.75.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini. *Dell'amicizia*. p. 77.

41. 友之道甚廣闊。雖至下品之人，以盜為事，亦必似結友為黨，方能行其事焉。

The range of friendship is vast, even the common people who make a living as thieves, would make friends to cooperate with each other.

‘I confine dell’amicizia sono ampi: anche le persone più basse nella società, il cui principale mestiere è fare i ladri, si uniscono in gruppo come amici e così possono poi esercitare il loro mestiere.’¹

42. 視友如己者，則遐者邇，弱者強，患者幸，病者愈，何必多言耶！死者猶生也。

When you regard friend as yourself, the distance could be shortened, the weaker could become strong, the illness could be healed, is there anything to be elaborate? When you regard friend as yourself, then the dead person could like alive.

‘Quando si considera l’amico come se stesso, allora il lontano si avvicina, il debole si rafforza, chi ha subito disgrazie torna nella prosperità, l’ammalato guarisce e – che bisogno c’è di tante parole? – il morto è come se fosse vivo.’²

43. 我有二友，相訟於前。我不欲為之聽判，恐一以我為仇也。我有二仇，相訟於前，我可猶為之聽判，必一以我為友也。

I have two friends who accused each other in front of me. For fear that one of them will hate me, so I would not judge for them. If two enemies accused each other in front of me, I will judge for them, because one of them will become my friend.

‘Se ho due amici che si accusano l’un l’altro davanti a me, preferisco non ascoltare né giudicare, temendo che uno dei due mi consideri come nemico. Ma se ho due nemici che si accusano l’un l’altro davanti a me, posso ben ascoltarli e giudicarli, perché certamente uno di essi mi considererà come amico.’³

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell’amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 77.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

44. 信於仇者，猶不可失，況于友者哉！信於友，不足言矣。

If we need to keep the promise to enemies, as for friends, we should do the same.
Keep promise to friends is an indispensable principle.

‘Se non si può mancare alla promessa fatta a un nemico, quanto meno a un amico!
Non è necessario fare discorsi sul mantenimento delle promesse a un amico.’¹

45. 友之職，至於義而止焉。

The duty of friends should not be against justice.

‘Il dovere dell’amico non oltrepassa il limite del giusto.’²

46. 如友寡也，予寡有喜，亦寡有憂焉。

If I have only a few of friends, then I will have a few of joy and sad.

‘Se gli amici sono pochi, avrò poca gioia; ma avrò in tal modo anche poca
tristezza.’³

47. 故友為美友，不可棄之也；無故以新易舊，不久即悔。

Old friends are good friends, we should not abandon them. If you replace old
friends with new ones for no reason, soon after you will regret.

‘Un vecchio amico è un buon amico: non dobbiamo abbandonarlo. Chi senza
motivo lascia un vecchio amico per uno nuovo, dopo poco se ne pentirà.’⁴

48. 既友，每事可同議定，然先須議定友。

If you become friends, then everything could be discussed with him. However,
before that, you should judge whether he is true friend or not.

‘Dopo aver contratto un amico, in ogni cosa potrò consultarmi con lui; ma, prima,

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 77.

² Ibid.

³ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 79.

⁴ Ibid.

devo decidere chi sia vero amico.’¹

49. 友於親，惟此長焉。親能無相愛，親友者否。蓋親無愛親，親倫猶在，除愛乎友其友，理焉存乎？

Friendship is more long-lasting than family affection, since families can not love each other, but friends need to. If there is no love, the genetic relationship still exists. On the contrary, if friends do not love each other, is there anything else than could maintain their friendship?

‘L’amicizia prevale sulla parentela solo per questo: i parenti possono non amarsi reciprocamente, gli amici no. Infatti le relazione di parentela restano anche senza amore tra I parenti; ma, se togliete l’amore reciproco tra gli amici, come potrebbe sussistere l’essenza dell’amicizia?’²

50. 獨有友之業能起。

Only the person, who has friends on their side, could develop their enterprise.

‘Possono prosperare sole le imprese di chi ha degli amici.’³

51. 友友之友，仇友之仇，為厚友也。吾友必仁，則知愛人，知惡人，故我據之。

Who regards friend’s friend as his own, friend’s enemy as his own, are good friend. If my friend is so kind that he knows how to love someone, and how to hate someone, therefore, I must follow him.

‘È profonda amicizia essere amico degli amici dell’amico e nemico dei nemici dell’amico.’⁴

52. 不扶友之急，則臨急無助者。

If you do not help your friends when they meet emergency; then when you are in

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell’amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 79.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

trouble, no one will help you.

‘Chi non aiuta l’amico nel bisogno, quando si troverà nel bisogno non avrà chi l’aiuti.’¹

53. 俗友者，同而樂多於悅，別而留憂；義友者，聚而悅多於樂，散而無愧。

Vulgar friends share more sheer enjoyment, rather than the spiritual joy, once separated, only sadness would be left; virtuous friends, gather together feeling more spiritual joy, hence even they get apart, they will never regret.

‘Gli amici volgari stanno insieme più nel divertimento che nella gioia dell’animo; così, quando si separano, restano tristi. Gli amici virtuosi stanno insieme più nella gioia dell’animo che nel divertimento; così, quando si separano, non hanno di che pentirsi.’²

54. 我能防備他人，友者安防之乎？聊疑友，即大犯友之道矣。

I could beware of others, but how to take precautions against a friend? Being suspicious of friends is a great taboo of friendship.

‘Posso guardarmi dagli altri; ma come posso guardarmi dall’amico? Il minimo dubbio sull’amico sarebbe già una grave violazione delle leggi dell’amicizia.’³

55. 上帝給人雙目、雙耳、雙手、雙足，欲兩友相助，方為事有成矣。友字，古篆作𠂔，即兩手也，可有而不可無。朋字，古篆作羽，即兩习也，鳥備之方能飛。古賢者視朋友，豈不如是耶？

The god gives us a couple of eyes, ears, hands, and feet, just like two friends could help each other, then everything could be done. ‘友’ this character is written in ‘𠂔’ (which means two hands holding together) , the form looks like two hands, nobody can lose one of them. ‘朋’ this character, was written in ‘羽’ which is composted by two ‘习’, stand for two wings. A bird with two wings can fly. The

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell’amicizia*. p. 79.

² Ibid.

³ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell’amicizia*. p. 81.

ancient sages did not treat friends in this way?

‘Dio ha dato agli uomini una coppia di occhi, di orecchie, di mani, di piedi, intendendo che si può portare a buon fine ogni cosa se due amici si aiutano reciprocamente. Nell’antica scrittura il carattere ‘amico’ era composto da ‘due mani’ (手) delle quali non possiamo fare a meno; il carattere ‘compagno’ era composto di ‘ala ed ala’ (羽), cioè due ali, con le quali soltanto l’uccello può volare. Non sarebbe forse così che gli antichi saggi hanno considerato gli amici?’¹

56. 天下無友，則無樂焉。

Without friends, no pleasure could be found in the world.

‘Se nel mondo non vi fosse amicizia, non vi sarebbe gioia.’²

57. 以詐待友，初若可以籠人，久而詐露，反為友厭薄矣。以誠待友，初惟自盡其心，久而誠孚，益為友敬服矣。

With a deceitful heart to treat a friend, you can win friends at first, but over time, you will be disgusted by friends. With true heart to treat a friend, as long as the best, you will win the respect of friends.

‘Se uno tratta gli amici con finzione, all’inizio può forse ingannarli; ma alla lunga la finzione si scoprirà e allora sarà disistimato e disprezzato dagli amici. Se uno tratta gli amici con sincerità, all’inizio farà fatica a mostrare il suo cuore; ma alla lunga la sincerità sarà riconosciuta ed egli sarà molto stimato e ammirato dagli amici.’³

58. 我先貧賤，而後富貴，則舊交不可棄，而新者或以勢利相依。我先富貴，而後貧賤，則舊交不可恃，而新者或以道義相合。友先貧賤，而後富貴，我當察其情，恐我欲親友，而友或疏我也。友先富貴，而後貧賤，我當加其敬，恐友防我疏，而我遂自處於疏也。

If initially I am poor and humble, after becoming wealthy and noble, new friends

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*, p. 81.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

probably are attracted by my fortune and authority, so I can not abandon old friends. If initially I am rich and noble, after becoming poor and humble, I can not rely on my old friends; on the contrary, I could make new friends because of virtue. If a friend becomes rich and noble from poverty and humbleness, I should understand his affection, even I still want to get close with him, but he may want to keep distance with me. If a friend becomes poor and humble from richness and nobility, I should pay him more respect, in case that my friend is fear for my alienation, and I gradually become alienated with him.

‘Se prima ero povero e di bassa condizione e poi sono divenuto ricco e di alta condizione, non devo abbandonare i vecchi amici, perché forse i nuovi si avvicinano per interesse. Ma se prima ero ricco e di alta condizione e poi sono divenuto povero e di bassa condizione, non posso appoggiarmi ai vecchi amici, mentre i nuovi forse vengono a me per virtù. Se l’amico prima era povero e di bassa condizione e poi è divenuto ricco e di alta condizione, devo fare attenzione per timore che, mentre mi voglio avvicinare a lui, egli forse si allontani da me. Se l’amico prima era ricco e di alta condizione e poi è divenuto povero e di bassa condizione, devo rispettarlo di più, per evitare che egli tema il mio allontanamento e io venga a ritrovarmi solo.’¹

59. 夫時何時乎？順語生友，直言生怨。

Now what kind of world we live in? Flatteries create friends, true words create hatred.

‘Ma che epoca! Che epoca! Le parole ossequiose producono amicizia e le parole vere producono odio!’²

60. 視其人之友如林，則知其德之盛。視其人之友落落如晨星，則知其德之薄。

If a person has friends as many as forests, then we will know his virtue is extremely large.

If a person has friends as less as the stars, then we will know his virtue is

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. pp. 81-83.

² M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 83.

extremely poor.

‘Se vedo che gli amici di qualcuno sono come una foresta, mi accorgo della ricchezza della sua virtù; ma, se vedo che gli amici di qualcuno sono rari come le stelle del mattino, allora mi accorgo della pochezza della sua virtù.’¹

61. 君子之交友難，小人之交友易。難合者難散，易合者易散也。

For gentlemen, it is difficult to make friends; for vile men, it is easy to make friends. Difficult to become friends, once they become friends, it is difficult to separate. Easy to make friends, (once they become friends), it is also very easy to separate.

‘Con un uomo dabbene è difficile fare amicizia, mentre è facile con un uomo volgare; ma ciò che si unisce difficilmente, difficilmente si stacca e ciò che si unisce facilmente, facilmente si stacca.’²

62. 平時交好，一旦臨小利害，遂為仇敵，由其交之未出於正也。交既正，則利可分，害可共矣。

Usually they get on well as friends, when faced with small stakes, instantly they become enemies, because their friendship is not based on virtue and morality. Friends should share the interests and disasters, if their friendship is come from virtue.

‘Se due sono vissuti solitamente da buoni amici e un giorno diventano nemici per un piccolo interesse o una piccola perdita, la ragione della loro amicizia non era retta. Quando la ragione dell’amicizia è retta, i profitti si possono suddividere e le perdite si possono condividere.’³

63. 我榮時，請而方來，患時不請而自來，夫友哉！

When I am rich and celebrated, you come to me after receiving my invitation; when I am in trouble, without invitation, you will pay me a visit, this kind of person is

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 83.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

my true friend.

‘Colui che nella mia prosperità viene se l’invito o nella mia disgrazia viene da sé senza invito, colui è un vero amico!’¹

64. 世間之物，多各而無用，同而始有益也。人豈獨不如此耶！

Most of things maintain their differences, this is useless. Only put them together could make them useful, is it only people not do so?

‘La maggiore parte delle cose nel mondo, prese da sole, sono inutili; ma, messe insieme, cominciano a essere utili. Come mai solo l’uomo non sarebbe così?’²

65. 良友相交之味，失之後愈可知覺矣。

When you lost friends, you can feel more intense about the friendship.

‘Il piacere dell’amicizia con un buon amico si avverte di più dopo averlo perduto.’³

66. 居染塵，而狎染人，近染色，難免無污穢其身矣。交友惡人，恆視聽其醜事，必習之而浼本心焉。

Living in the dye house, being close to the people, it is inevitable to get one’s body infected. Making friends with evil persons, always heard about his scandal, you will get used to it, finally your heart will be polluted.

‘Chi abita nella tintoria, vicino ai tintori e ai colori, difficilmente eviterà di sporcarsi il corpo. Chi fa amicizia con i cattivi, ascoltando e vedendo sempre le loro malefatte, certamente le praticherà e se ne macchierà il cuore.’⁴

67. 吾偶候遇賢友，雖僅一抵掌而別，未嘗少無裨補，以洽吾為善之志也。

I run into a wise friend, even though we just have little time to get along, but I also get benefits from him, it helps me to strengthen my faith of doing the good.

¹ M. Ricci, and F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 83.

² M. Ricci, and F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 85.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

‘Quando per caso incontro un amico saggio, anche se me ne separo in un batter di mani, sempre ne traggo beneficio, per rafforzare la mia aspirazione a compiere il bene.’¹

68. 交友之旨無他，在彼善長於我，則我效習之；我善長於彼，則我教化之。

The finality of making friends is: when he is better than me, I learn from friend; when I am better than him, I teach my friend.

‘Il fine dell’amicizia non è altro che questo: se l’amico mi è superiore, lo imito e apprendo; se io sono superiore, lo miglioro.’²

69. 是學而即教，教而即學，兩者互資矣。如彼善不足以效習，彼不善不可以變動，何殊盡日相與遊謔而徒費陰影乎哉？無益之友，乃偷時之盜。偷時之損，甚於偷財。財可復積，時則否。

Thus, the learning process is the process of teaching others, and to teach others is also a learning process, two processes are mutually reinforcing. If a friend for me is too outstanding to follow; or a friend for me is too terrible to change, and then why we waste each other’s time to travel together? A friend without good influence just likes a thief who steals time. The loss of wasting time is graver than the loss of possession. Because the property can be re-accumulated, but time can not.

‘Impara e insegna, insegna e impara: ambedue si aiutano. Se egli mi è di troppo superiore per imitarlo e apprendere o se egli è di troppo inferiore per essere cambiato, perché dovremmo stare insieme, giocando ogni giorno e perdendo inutilmente tempo? Un amico che non mi fa nessun bene è un ladro di tempo; la perdita che ho subito per il furto del tempo è peggiore del furto delle ricchezze: queste si possono riacquistare, il tempo no!’³

70. 使或人未篤信斯道，且修德尚危，出好入醜，心戰未決，於以剖釋其疑，

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*, p. 85.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

安培其德，而救其將墜，計莫過於交善友。蓋吾所數聞、所數睹，漸透於膺，豁然開悟，誠若活法勸責吾於善也。嚴哉君子！嚴哉君子！時雖言語未及，怒色未加，亦有德威，以沮不善之為與。

If a person does not believe in this truth, and puts the practice of virtue in danger, struggles are always in \heart, hesitating about doing good or bad things, in order to prevent them from degenerating, the best way is making friends with righteous persons. In fact, the thing I see and heard gradually go into my heart, suddenly, I understand everything. Just like the principal of surviving makes me adore the beneficence. A gentleman is so amazing! So amazing! Sometimes, even without words and anger, only rely on the dignity of virtue, the gentlemen are able to prevent people from doing bad things.

‘Se qualcuno non ha ancora piena fiducia in questa dottrina, l’esercizio della virtù è ancora in pericolo; finché il suo cuore è combattuto e non è ancora deciso, egli devierà dal bene e si getterà ne male. Per risolvere i suoi dubbi, consolidare e coltivare le sue virtù e impedirgli di precipitare non c’è miglior rimedio che fare una buona amicizia; infatti, ciò che sento spesso e vedo spesso penetra poco a poco nel mio cuore e all’improvviso mi rivela tutto, come una regola viva che mi stimola al bene. Oh, com’è forte l’uomo virtuoso! Oh, com’è forte l’uomo virtuoso! A volte, anche senza parole, anche senza volto adirato, con la sola potenza della virtù impedisce ai malvagi di agire!’¹

71. 爾不得用我為友，而均為嫵媚者。

If you can be my friend, then we could only become each other’s flatterer.

‘Se non puoi contar5e su di me come amico, siamo ambedue adulatori.’²

72. 友者，相褒之禮易施也，夫相忍友乃難矣。然大都友之皆感稱己之譽，而忘忍己者之德，何歟？一顯我長，一顯我短故耳。

It is very easy to praise friends, but it is very hard to tolerate friends. However,

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell’amicizia*. p. 87.

² Ibid.

why people are so sensitive of the praise from friends, but are so easy to forget friends' tolerance? Because the former highlights their strengths, the latter reveals their weaknesses.

‘La lode reciproca tra amici è un pratica facile, ma la mutua sopportazione tra amici è difficile. Perché quasi tutti gli amici sono sensibili alle lodi nei propri confronti e dimenticano le virtù di quelli che li sopportano? Perché le prime mettono in luce le mie qualità, le seconde i miei difetti.’¹

73. 一人不相愛，則耦不為友。

If one can not love the other, then they can not become friends.

‘Se uno non corrisponde all’amore [dell’altro], allora nessuno dei due diventa amico.’²

74. 臨當用之時，俄識其非友也，愍矣！

You realize someone is not your friend when you truly need help, which will be so sad!

‘Se nel momento del bisogno mi accorgo improvvisamente che egli non è un amico, che tristezza!’³

75. 務來新友，戒毋誼舊者。

When you want to make new friends, you’d better not forget the old ones.

‘Se volete farvi nuovi amici, non vi dimenticate dei vecchi!’⁴

76. 友也，為貧之財，為弱之力，為病之藥焉。

Friend is the fortune for poor people; is the power for the weak; is the medicine for patient.

‘L’amico è la ricchezza del povero, la forza del debole, la medicina del malato.’¹

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 87.

² Ibid.

³ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 89.

⁴ Ibid.

77. 國家可無財庫，而不可無友也。

A country could have no treasure, but must have friends.

‘Una nazione può stare senza tesoro, ma non può stare senza amici.’²

78. 仇之饋，不如友之棒也。

The criticism of friends is more precious than the gift of enemies.

‘I regali del nemico valgono meno delle bastonate dell’amico.’³

79. 世無友，如天無日，如身無目矣。

A world without friendship, just like the sky is without sun; the body is without eyes.

‘Un mondo senza amici sarebbe come un cielo senza sole o un corpo senza occhi.’⁴

80. 友者既久，尋之既少，得之既難，存之或離於眼，即念之於心焉。

Since finding a friend costs so much time, the friends could not be too many. If is difficult to get friends, when friends leave, at least they'll be in mind.

‘Poiché avete cercato degli amici così a lungo, così pochi ne avete trovati ed è così difficile conservarli, se qualcuno si allontana dagli occhi, almeno ricordatelo con il cuore!’⁵

81. 知友之益，凡出門會人，必圖致交一新友，然後回家矣。

If someone know the advantages of making friends, he will try to make new friends when he visit others, and then he could come back home.

‘Uno, che conosceva I benefici degli amici, tutte le volte che usciva per fare una

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 89.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

visita non tornava a casa senza aver cercato di farsi un nuovo amico.’¹

82. 諛諂友，非友，乃偷者，偷其名而僭之耳。

Those flatters are not true friends; on the contrary, they are thieves who steal friends' reputation.

‘Gli amici adulatori non son amici, ma ladri: rubano e usurpano il nome.’²

83. 吾福祉所致友，必吾災禍避之。

Those friends, who are attracted by my fortune, undoubtedly will leave me because of my calamity.

‘L’amico attirato dalla mia fortuna sarà certamente allontanato dalle mie disgrazie.’³

84. 友既結成，則戒一相斷友情。情一斷，可以姑相著，而難復全矣。玉器有所黏，惡於觀，易散也，而寡有用耶。

Once friendship is formed, do not do anything to harm it. If the friendship is harmed, even it could be fixed, but they can not be restored to its original look. After Jade damaged, it can be pasted together, but the appearance does not look good, it is easy to be damaged again.

‘Dopo aver contratto un’amicizia, guardati dal romperne il patto; giacché, una volta rotta, questo può si ripararsi, ma è difficile riportarlo allo stato originario. I vasi di giada riparati sono brutti a vedersi e facili a rompersi di nuovo: non hanno quasi alcuna utilità.’⁴

85. 醫士之意，以苦藥療人病；諂友之向，以甘言干人財。

Doctor's willingness is to treat patients with bitter medicines; flatterers want to take over other people's money with honey words.

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 89.

² Ibid.

³ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 91.

⁴ Ibid.

‘Mentre il medico vuol guarire la malattia dell’uomo con una medicina amara, l’amico adulatore mira alle ricchezze dell’uomo con parole dolci.’¹

86. 不能友己，何以友人？

If you can be friend of yourself, how could you be other’s friend?

‘Se non puoi essere amico di te stesso, come potrai essere amico degli altri?’²

87. 智者欲離浮友，且漸而違之，非速而絕之。

The wise man wants to alienate the fickle friend, but in a gradual way instead of breaking up with him immediately.

‘Il saggio, che voglia allontanare da sé amici frivoli, lie vita poco a poco e non rompe subito con loro.’³

88. 欲以眾人交友則繁焉，余竟無冤仇則足已。

Making friends with many persons is really complicated, hence it’s enough not to make enemies.

‘Voler essere amico di tutti è cosa complicate; quindi mi basta non avere nemici.’⁴

89. 彼非友，信爾，爾不得而欺之。欺之，至惡之之效也。

If he is not your friend, but he trusts you, then you can not cheat him. If you do so, that will be the most evil thing to him.

‘Se egli, senza essere amico, ha fiducia in te, non puoi ingannarlo. Se tu lo ingannassi, questo sarebbe cosa troppo brutta per lui.’⁵

90. 永德，永友之美餌矣。凡物無不以時久為人所厭，惟德彌久，彌感人情也。

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*, p. 91.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

德在仇人猶可愛，況在友者歟？

Permanent virtue is the best food for a lasting friendship. Everything will be detested by people with the time passed except friendship. The long-lasting friendship makes people get touched. Virtue is even respected among the enemies, how will it be treated among friends?

‘La virtù duratura è ottimo alimento per un’eterna amicizia. Tutto, senza eccezione, alla lunga diventa noioso per gli uomini; solo la virtú, quanto più dura, tanto più commuove i sentimenti degli uomini. Se la virtú è amabile perfino nel nemico, quanto lo sarà nell’amico?’¹

91. 歷山王大西域古總王值事急，躬入大陣。時有弼臣止之曰：「事險若斯，陛下安以免身乎？」王曰：「汝免我於詐友，且顯仇也，自乃能防之。」

Macedonian king Alexander the great once met an emergency, he was exposed in dangers. His follower stopped him and said: ‘the situation is so dangerous, how can your Majesty save yourself? Alexander replied: ‘You prevent me from the harm of false friends and let the enemies revealed; now I am able to protect myself.’

‘Il re Alessandro — antico imperatore dell’Occidente — si gettò di persona nella mischia in un momento di grave pericolo. Un suo ministro lo fermò, dicendo: ‘Il pericolo è così grande! Come farà Vostra Maestà a salvarsi?’ Il re gli rispose: ‘Tu difendimi dai falsi amici. Dagli aperti nemici mi potrò difendere da solo.’²

92. 歷山王亦冀交友，賢士名為善諾，先使人奉之以數萬金。善諾佛而曰：「王貺吾以茲，意吾何人耶！」使者曰：「否也，王知夫子為至廉，是奉之耳。」曰：「然則當容我為廉已矣！」而麾之不受。史斷之曰：王者欲買士之友，而士者毋賣之。

Alexander the great hopes to make friends with sages, among which there is a sage called Focione. He first sent tens of thousands of gold to Focione. But Focione was very angry and said: ‘king gave me money, because he thought I was that kind of

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 91.

² M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 93.

person?’ The messenger said: ‘no, his majesty knew you were very poor, hence he sent you gold.’ The sage replied: ‘Please let me to be a poor man!’, and rejected the gold. Historian made the comment: ‘Alexander the Great wanted to buy friendship, but the sage did not want to sell it.’

‘ Il re Alessandro, sperando di contrarre amicizia anche con un saggio di nome Focione, gli mandò prima qualcuno, offrendo molte decine di migliaia di montete d’oro. Ma Focione, adiratosi, gli disse: ‘Facendomi questo regalo, il re chi crede che io sia?’ Il messo rispose: ‘ Il re sa che voi, letterato, siete uomo incorruttibile. Questa non è che un’offerta’. E l’altro : ‘Allora lasciatemi essere incorruttibile!’. E non volle accettare nulla. Lo storico conclude dicendo: ‘Il re voleva comprare l’amicizia del letterato, ma il letterato non la vendette.’¹

93. 歷山王未得總位時，無國庫；凡獲財，厚頒給與人也。有敵國王富盛，惟事務充庫，譏之曰：「足下之庫在於何處？」曰：「在於友心也。」

When Alexander the Great had not ascended the throne, he had no treasury; once he got the property, he generously sent it to others. The king of hostile country was very rich, he ridiculed Alexander and said: ‘Where is your treasury?’ Alexander replied: ‘it is in the hearts of my friends.’

‘Quando il re Alessandro non era ancora salito sul trono, non aveva un erario nazionale e distribuiva generosamente agli altri tutte le ricchezze che acquisiva. Il re di un Paese nemico, molto ricco e che non si occupava che di rimpinguare il suo Tesoro, beffandosi di lui gli disse: ‘Dov’è il Tesoro di Vostra Maestà?’ Elgi rispose: ‘nel cuore degli amici!’²

94. 昔年有善待友而豐惠之，將盡本家產也，傍人或問之曰：「財物畢與友，何留於己乎？」對曰：「惠友之味也。」別傳對曰：「留惠友之冀也。」意俚異而均美焉。

Some people treat their friends very well, offering them many gifts, until the

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 93.

² Ibid.

exhaustion of his property. Others asked him: ‘all the property is given to others, what could be left for you?’ He replied: ‘the happiness of benefiting my friends.’ In another way, he replied: ‘the hope of benefiting my friends will remain.’ Even the expressions are slightly different, but the significances are the same.

‘In passato ci fu qualcuno che trattava bene i suoi amici e li beneficava abbondantemente, fino a esaurire il patrimonio familiare. Qualcuno dei vicini gli domandò: ‘Avete dato tutte le ricchezze agli amici; che cosa rimane per voi?’ Egli rispose: ‘Il piacere di aver beneficiato gli amici’. Un’altra tradizione vuole che abbia risposto: ‘Mi resta la speranza di poter beneficiare gli amici’. Il pensiero è diverso, ma ambedue le risposte sono belle.’¹

95. 古有二人同行，一極富，一極貧。或曰：「二人為友，至密矣。」竇法德古者名賢聞之曰：「既然，何一為富者，一為貧者哉？」言友之物，皆與共也。

In ancient times, there are two persons traveling together. One is very rich, the other is very poor. Someone said: ‘They can become friends, their relationship is very close’. Theophrastus--an ancient sage heard, and then said: ‘If so, why a man is rich and the other is poor?’ He means that friends should share all things they have.

‘Nell’antichità due uomini andavano insieme: uno era molto ricco, l’altro molto povero. Qualcuno osservò: ‘questi due uomini sono intimi amici’. Teofrasto — celebre letterato dell’antichità — sentendo ciò disse: ‘Se è così, perché uno è ricco e l’altro è povero?’. Voleva dire che le cose degli amici devono essere tutte condivise.’²

96. 昔有人求其友以非義事，而不見與之，曰：「苟爾不與我所求，何復用爾友乎？」彼曰：「苟爾求我以非義事，何復用爾友乎？」

Once upon a time, someone ask his friend to do something unjust, but his friend did not answer, he said: ‘If you do not answer my request, what kind of use is your friendship for me?’ The man replied: ‘If you ask me to do the thing unjust, then what kind of use is your friendship for me?’

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 95.

² Ibid.

‘Una volta qualcuno chiese al suo amico una cosa ingiusta e, non vedendosela concessa, disse: ‘se non mi concedi ciò che ho chiesto, a che cosa mi serve la tua amicizia?’. L’altro rispose: ‘Se tu mi chiedi cose ingiuste, a che cosa mi serve la tua amicizia?’¹.

97. 西土之一先王，曾交友一士，而腴養之於都中，以其為智賢者，日曠弗見陳諫，即辭之曰：「朕乃人也，不能無過，汝莫見之，則非智士也；見而非諫，則非賢友也。」先王弗見諫過，且如此，使值近時文飾過者，當何如？

A king of the ancient West world, who met a scholar, kept him in the capital. The king considered him as a wise sage. But over time, he never criticized the king. Then the king dismissed him, and said: ‘I am a mortal, it is impossible that I make no mistakes. If you can not realize my fault, you are not wise; if you see it, but not give me advice, then you are not a wise friend.’ A king, who had not been criticized by friends, even he did this, how about those people who covered up their faults?

‘Un antico re dell’Occidente aveva fatto amicizia con un letterato e lo teneva magnificamente nella capitale, ritenendolo dotto e saggio. I giorni passavano, senza che il re vedesse farsi dei rimproveri. Allora lo licenziò, dicendo: ‘Sono uomo e non posso essere senza difetti. Se tu non li vedi, non sei un letterato intellegente; se tu li vedi e non mi correggi, non sei un amico retto.’ Questo antico re agì in tal modo perché non era stato rimproverato dei suoi difetti. Chi dire di coloro che, in questi tempi, coprono e abbelliscono i loro difetti?’²

98. 是的亞是北方國名俗，獨多得友者，稱之謂富也。

According to a custom of the northern kingdom, who has a lot of friends could be regarded as rich man.

‘Secondo il costume della Scizia — è il nome di un regno del nord — viene chiamato ‘ricco’ soltanto chi ha molti amici.’³

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 95.

² M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 97.

³ Ibid.

99. 客力所西國王名以匹夫得大國。有賢人問得國之所行大旨，答曰：「惠我友，報我仇。」賢曰：「不如惠友而用恩，俾仇為友也。」

King of Lydia--Croesus took the throne from a humble position. A sage asked him the principles of getting throne, he replied: 'I show mercy to my friend, let my enemy pay the price. The Philosopher said: 'Better to benefit friends with kindness, and finally turn enemies into friends'.

‘Creso—è il nome di un re dell’Occidente—da uomo di bassa setrazione era riuscito ad avere un grande regno. Un saggio gli domandò quail fossero I grandi principi che voleva applicare nel reganre. Egli rispose: ‘Beneficare i miei amici e ripagare i miei nemici.’ Il saggio replicò: ‘Meglio sarebbe beneficare gli amici e, a forza di benefici, fare che i nemici diventino amici.’¹

100. 墨臥皮古聞士者折開大石榴。或人問之曰：「夫子何物，願獲如其子之多耶？」曰：「忠友也。」

Megapito was a very famous ancient scholar, he opened a big pomegranate. Someone asked him: ‘Sir, what do you want to get as much as its fruit?’ He replied: ‘loyal friends’.

‘Megapito, famoso letterato dell’antichità, tagliò una grande melagrana. Qualcuno gli domandò: ‘Di che cosa vorreste avere, voi letterato, tanti sono questi chichi?’ Egli rispose: ‘Di amici fedeli.’²

From the content of *Treatise on Friendship*, we could see that Matteo Ricci elaborated this topic mainly from several parts.

First, the essence and importance of friendship was a main part throughout his essay. According to Matteo Ricci, friendship had far-reaching influences not only on every single person, but also on every country. In sentence 1, he addressed that for every individual, friend was not someone else, but another half of himself. For every country, it could have no treasure, but must have friends (sentence 77). A friend was

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. p. 97

² Ibid.

like a precious fortune, so a son inherits his father's friends, just as inherits his father's property (sentence 4). In adversity friend could ease your anxiety; in prosperity friend could increase your delight (sentence 10). Furthermore, he even pointed out that friendship was closer and more precious than brotherhood and bloodhood (sentence 35, 49). Since families can not love each other, but friends need to. If there is no love, the genetic relationship still exists. On the contrary, if friends do not love each other, there is nothing left to maintain their friendship.

Friendship was the origin of joy, without friends, no pleasure could be found in the world (sentence 56). In brief, a world without friendship was just like the sky without sun, the body without eyes (sentence 79). The sentence 1, 2, 4, 10, 12, 14, 16, 34, 35, 36, 41, 49, 55, 56, 75, 77, 79, 93, 94, 98, 100 all expressed the importance of friendship from different aspects.

Second, Ricci discussed the intentions of making friends and functions of friendship in his essay. He presented us that the main goal of making friends should be achieving mutual improvements. In sentence 3, he wrote clearly: 'need and help each other is the reason why we make friends'. Nobody could do everything and none was perfect, on that account, when my friend was better than me, I learnt from my friend; when I was better than him, I taught my friend. In this way, friends could learn from each other and finally achieve the mutual improvements (sentence 15, 68). Especially, a virtuoso friend would encourage you to do benevolence (sentence 67). Therefore, friend was the fortune for poor people; was the power for weak person and was the medicine for patients (sentence 76). The sentence 3, 10, 15, 22, 37, 38, 42, 46, 50, 56, 64, 67, 68, 70, 76 developed Ricci's arguments completely.

Throughout Ricci's treatise, another important part was related to the criteria of judging a true friend. Given that friendship meant so much to everyone, before treating someone as your friend, Ricci emphasized a process of examining or testing (sentence 6, 48). He mentioned for several times that a true friend should be examined in difficult situations (sentence 5, 13, 25, 40). He said: 'without incident, it is hard to determine the authenticity of a friend; the friendship will be showed in difficulties. At a critical time true friends become more intimate, false friends become more and more

alienated' (sentence 5). Many specific criteria can be applied in the determination process. For example, a true friend should not be a utilitarian (sentence 27). Provide helps to friends without asking anything in return was the manifestation of a true friendship (sentence 8). More importantly, true friends should love each other with love, not with implements (sentence 26). And friends could share the interests and disasters, if their friendship came from virtue (sentence 62). A true friendship required several important qualities, such as rightness, loyalty and high moral character (sentence 63, 71, 82, 83, 85).

Besides the arguments discussed above, Ricci especially focused on the principles that should be obeyed during the process of making friends and maintaining friendship. In this sense, Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* could be considered as an instructional handbook rather than a theoretical work.

Among all the principles, one principle was inviolable. Virtue was the foundation of a true friendship. No one could violate the morality even using friendship as an excuse (sentence 11, 29, 30, 45). Permanent virtue maintained a long-lasting friendship (sentence 90). Since the duty of friends should be limited in front of justice, so none should ask his friend to do the unjust thing for him, meanwhile, he also should not reply this kind of request (sentence 96). In addition, the same moral standard and interests were the main factors to nurture a solid friendship (sentence 17). Sincerity, righteousness, selflessness, spirit of sharing, confidence and loyalty were the main requests for a true friend (19, 21, 28, 44, 54, 57, 63, 95, 96, and 97).

Besides those main parts, Ricci also offered us many advises which had to do with selecting friends, the relationship between old and new friends, maintaining friendship (sentence 84, 94) and so on. He mentioned that we should cherish friendship, because once it was broken, it was hard to rebuild (sentence 84). In terms of old and new friends, he gave us some tips (sentence 47, 57, and 75). Moreover, Ricci pointed out the primary duty of a friend was giving forthright suggestions (sentence 19, 97).

Throughout Ricci's treatise, we could find out that he made all effort to elaborate this subject from a Confucian perspective. Ricci even tried to explain the

conception of friend (友) from the composition of ideogramma. Moreover he absorbed some theoretical essence of Confucian doctrine. In particular, the importance of virtue and love (benevolence) in making and maintaining friends was repeatedly mentioned by Ricci. But the main origin of his maxims was his humanistic knowledge, including many Greco-Roman philosophers' thought. By means of Ricci's effort, the Confucian thought and Greco-Roman thought encountered in ethical field, specifically on the subject of friendship.

In summary, this treatise tells us how to make friends; how to judge a true friend; and how to cherish and maintain friendship. It not only listed the requirements for friends, but also made the requirements for our own behaviour. For Ricci, finding a true friend and being a true friend were both important. When we ask others to obey the principles of making friends, at the same time, we need to be strict with ourselves.

In brief, Matteo Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* is a guide book for us to know almost everything about friendship: what is friendship; where does the friendship come from; what kind of principle we need to obey in order to maintain friendship with others; and what a true friend looks like etc.

Through the content of this treatise, we could find that almost all the topics Matteo Ricci talked about were reflected in the Confucian thought and Greco-Roman thought. How the Confucian thought and Greco-Roman thought encounter each other in *Treatise on Friendship*? And in which way Matteo Ricci made these two thoughts melt together will be an interesting topic to study.

3.3 The encounter and interaction of Greco-Roman thought and Confucian thought

3.3.1 The Confucian thought on Friendship

As the founder of Confucianism, Confucius is known as a philosopher king. Matteo Ricci called him 'another Seneca'. His doctrines almost cover all the fields and have a profound influence on Chinese society. '*The Analects*' is a quotation of the

dialogue between Confucius and his pupils. The discussion about social relationships is a main part of this book. The Confucian doctrine divided the relationship into five groups which include the relation between monarch and his subjects, the relation between father and son, the relation between husband and wife, the relation between old brother and younger brother, the relation between friends. Confucius admitted the significance of friendship; his ideal is to become a gentleman who makes friends with others. And at the beginning of *The Analects*, Confucius said: ‘meet a friend who come from distant place, it is a great joy of life’¹. It could be seen that Confucius really put friendship in an important position.

Through *The Analects*, we could understand the Confucian view of Friendship from three aspects.

First, the Confucian doctrine recognized the importance and influence of friendship.

Confucius said: ‘observe someone’s behaviors and his experiences, examine his habitude, how one could hide his true nature?’ and then he continued, ‘someone who has virtue and morality will not be lonely; he will be accompanied by others.’² From the sentences above, Confucius pointed out that nobody could be alone in a society, by means of observing his surroundings we could judge what kind of person he is. In other words, friend likes a mirror, through your friends, your own morality, character could be observed. In addition, Confucius regarded the friendship as a beneficial hobby. He said, ‘if someone makes friends with virtuoso person, it would be helpful.’³, the beneficial hobby will offer us the spiritual and physical pleasure, just like friendship does. According to Confucius, people can rely on a true friend. He once said, ‘if my friend dies, and none buries him, then I will take care of his funeral’⁴.

¹ Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980. p. 1.

² Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980. p. 17.

³ Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980. p. 255.

⁴ Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980. p. 147.

Zeng Zi¹ said: 'the gentlemen use essay to meet friends, use friends to cultivate their benevolence and humaneness'². Confucius shared the same opinion with Zeng Zi, he considered the friendship as a way to foster one's morality.

Hence, in the Confucian theory, the influence (function) of friends is reflected not only in spiritual field, but also in material field. Therefore the utilitarian function and spiritual function of friends are sometimes inseparable.

Second, the Confucian doctrine listed several standards of choosing friends.

In the opinion of Confucius, one should make friends with the people who have talent and virtue. He said: 'the gentleman should obey the principle of morality, and never make friends with people who are lack of morality and virtue'³.

Confucius classified three kinds of good friends including the righteous people, the honest people, and the wise people⁴. And he emphasized that one should not make friends with flatterers, hypocrite and inveroacious man⁵.

In summary, virtue, morality and wisdom together draw a basic line of choosing friends, in which, virtue means the way he treats other, morality means the way he treats himself, and wisdom means the capacity of cultivate his own virtue and morality. Even though Confucian standards of choosing friends seemed like simple, but actually, they had a vast range and abundant significance.

Third, the principles of making friends and maintaining friendship were mentioned in the Confucian books.

Honesty is the basic precondition of contacting with others, without honesty, how can we make friends? ⁶

Friends should be tolerated to each other, when friends meet difficulties, we should help them. In the dangerous circumstances, the value of a friend can be proved;

¹ Zeng Zi (505 BC—435 BC) was a famous pupil of Confucius.

² Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980. p. 1.

³ Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, p. 5.

⁴ Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, p. 254.

⁵ Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, p. 65.

⁶ Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, p. 5.

loyal friends will never abandon each other at any time¹.

The dialogue between Confucius and his pupil Zi Gong, reflected another principle that we should obey: keep a proper distance with friends.

Friendship is a very intimate relationship, thus true friends do not need courtesy². However, if you get too closed with friends, later friends will alienate you³. So keep a proper distance with friend is a difficult skill to grasp.

From the individual's point of view, everyone has their own unique personality. If two friends get too closes, it is inevitable to create conflicts and frictions. Keep a certain distance on both sides, will be helpful to maintain friendship in long time.

To sum up, Confucian views of friendship effected Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* in different aspects. The Confucian doctrine was a pratical philosophy, aiming at setting moral examples, and regulating people's behaviors, so the Confucian literati would like to read an instructive book. For meeting their preference, Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* focused on setting principles and guiding people's behaviors. This was the common point in writing style between Confucian works and Ricci's treaties.

Speak of the content, we could find the clear affinity from both sides in many aspects.

Like Confucius, Ricci firstly recognized the significance of friendship. The sentence 1, 2, 4, 10, 12, 14, 16, 34, 35, 36, 41, 49, 55, 56, 75, 77, 79, 93, 94, 98, 100 could support his arguments. Ricci also put virtue and morality at the first place. No matter during the process of making friends, testing friends, or maintaining friends, virtue and morality were always the highest standards (sentence 11, 29, 30, 45). Any kind of friendship can not be against with morality and benevolence. Friendship is not an excuse for people to do the wrong thing. Confucius and Ricci both addressed that the same moral standard and interests were the main factors to nurture a solid friendship (sentence 17). Sincerity, righteousness, selflessness, spirit of sharing,

¹ Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits) , *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, p. 55.

² Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits) , *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, p. 107.

³ Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits) , *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, p. 41.

confidence and loyalty were the main requests for a true friend (19, 21, 28, 44, 54, 57, 63, 95, 96, and 97). In addition, Ricci and Confucius all noticed that one's friend could be a mirror for himself, because the capacity of making friends stood for one's moral level. Just like Ricci said: 'If a person has friends as many as forests, then we will know his virtue is extremely large. If a person has friends as less as the stars, then we will know his virtue is extremely poor' (sentence 60).

Besides so many common points about friendship, there were still several differences between Confucian thought and Ricci's opinion in this ethical field.

As we all know, the Confucian thought and Greco-Roman thought were born from two different civilizations, so the differences were inevitable. Even though Ricci already made all efforts to eliminate their imparities, but we still could tell the divergence in some aspects.

First, making friends was a personal action and selection for the westerners, Ricci did not put friendship in a social relation network to observe. Friendship was like an independent social relation. But for Confucian doctrine, friendship was one of the five social relationships. It was not an independent social relation, and was connected with other four social relations. At the same time, these five groups of social relations were not equal to each other, the importance was revealed according to their list order: the relation between monarch and subjects, the relation between father and son, the relation between husband and wife, the relation between brothers, and at last the relation between friends. In some extent friendship was the supplement of the other four groups. Given that all groups of social relations had an inner connection, so the principles for other social relations also should be obeyed in the field of Friendship. For example, the loyalty was a main principle for monarch and his subjects, the same principle also was applied in friendship.

Second, Ricci pointed out that the aim of making friends was achieving the mutual development. In other word, the influence between friends was equal to each other, so equality would be an important concept for making friends. Differently, the Confucian theory only emphasized the subsidiary function of friends in cultivating the virtue. Naturally, the equality of friends was never mentioned in Confucian doctrine.

Since the hierarchy was reflected in all the social relations, so the friendship can be developed among the people with the same social position.

Third, in the view of Confucius, making friends was a method of cultivating one's virtue, so one should make friends with the person of high moral level. Then you could study from him, and finally achieved your own improvement. Superficially at this point, Ricci's argument was identical with Confucius. However, in the Confucian doctrine, the cultivation of virtue was never a destination; instead it was a starting point. One should cultivate his own virtue, and then he could let the family members be educated, furthermore, the whole country could be ruled in a proper way¹. Therefore, personal cultivation of the virtue only be the first step in the whole process, the personal action was always linked to the family and the country.

Ricci also emphasized the cultivation of virtue, but he never made a connection between personal cultivation and the country's governance. In other words, making friends was the behaviour of the individuals, Ricci did not analyse it on an extensive social sphere, let alone talking its impacts on family and country.

Throughout the difference between the Confucian thought and Ricci's arguments, it could be seen that, on the contrary with the western culture, individualism was rarely mentioned in the Confucian doctrine. People who lived in Confucian society always linked with external social relations. The personal identity was expressed in these ways: you should be someone's subject, someone's father or son, someone's husband or wife, someone's brother, or someone's friend. In fact the Confucian society was a large network of different kinds of social relations; no one could find his identity out of these relations. So that's a reason why Ricci was eager to make friends with the Chinese literati. He needed to gain a social identity as a true 'Chinese'. And being someone's friends was his unique choice.

In summary, the Confucian doctrine on friendship showed a rational character compared with Ricci's arguments. Obviously his treatise was influenced by Cicero's stoic philosophy which emphasized the impacts of friendship from a non-utilitarian

¹ Wang Wenjin, *Translation and annotation of Book of Rites*. Beijing Shi: Zhonghua shu ju, 2001. p. 895.

perspective. Just as Cicero expressed the friendship was an implusion of instinct and an inclination of the soul. More importantly, the Confucian doctrine always analysed friendship in a social context. The Confucian literati regarded friendship as a part of the whole social system. The impacts of friendship on each individual was not the emphasis, instead its impacts on the whole society deserved to be discussed.

In the next part, we will see how Cicero's philosophy influenced Ricci's discussion.

3.3.2 *Laelius de Amicitia* by Cicero

After the textual analysis, we could find that Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* is mainly correspondent to Cicero's *De Amicitia*. Even though Ricci cited other ancient philosophers' thoughts in his essay, Cicero's *De Amicitia* is still the most important base of his writing.

Laelius de Amicitia (or simply *De Amicitia*) is a treatise Treatise on Friendship by the Roman statesman and author Marcus Tullius Cicero, written in 44 BC.

Laelius de Amicitia is a systematic exposition of friendship. The nature friendship, the origin of friendship, the benefits carried by friendship, the standards for selecting friends, friendship, and the principles to be followed, as well as the relationship between friendship and virtue, age, personality, hobbies almost all aspects were elaborated in Cicero's book. *Laelius de Amicitia* is not only an instructive handbook, but also a theoretical treatise. Cicero's views of friendship were mainly manifested in several aspects.

First, Cicero discussed the origin and significance of friendship in his treatise.

Cicero advocated that we should put friendship before all things human; for nothing is so conformable to nature and nothing so adaptable to our fortunes whether it is favorable or adverse¹. He continued to elaborate that with the exception of

¹ M.T. Cicero, A. F. William (edits). *De Senectute; De Amicitia ; De Divinatione*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1923.V, 17.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cicero/Laelius_de_Amicitia/text*.html

wisdom, no better thing has been given to man by the immortal gods¹. And among all the relationships, friendship excels blood relationship². Who looks upon a true friend, looks, as it were, upon a sort of image of himself³, in other words, a true friend is another you, and so you need to treat a friend in the way to treat yourself.

He proposed another question, what is the intention of making friends? People are longing for friendship on account of weakness and need? Cicero mentioned another cause which was older, more beautiful, and emanated more directly from Nature herself. For it is love (amor), from which the word 'friendship' (amicitia) is derived, that leads to the establishing of goodwill⁴. Friendship springs rather from nature than from need, and from an inclination of the soul joined with a feeling of love rather than from calculation of how much profit the friendship is likely to afford⁵.

Friendship is extremely important not only to the person, but also to the country. If you take the bond of goodwill out of the universe, no house or city could stand, nor would even the tillage of the fields abide⁶.

In terms of its nature, Cicero considered that friendship comes from a nature impulse, which is the reflection of love and goodwill between friends. In fact, friendship is the spiritual inclination. He also mentioned that virtue knits friendship together⁷. The attraction between two hearts with the same virtue is the beginning of a friendship.

Second, Cicero listed the benefits of making friends.

In the opinion of Cicero, seeing that friendship includes very many and very great advantages, it undoubtedly excels all other things in this respect, that it projects the bright ray of hope into the future, and does not suffer the spirit to grow faint or to fall⁸. Talked about the relationship between advantages and friendship, Cicero did not

¹ *De Amicitia*, VI. 20

² *De Amicitia*, V. 19.

³ *De Amicitia*, VII. 23.

⁴ *De Amicitia*, VIII. 26.

⁵ *De Amicitia*, VIII. 27.

⁶ *De Amicitia*, VII. 23.

⁷ *De Amicitia*, XIV. 48.

⁸ *De Amicitia*, VII. 23.

ignore the material benefits that come along with friendship, but he emphasized that benefits attach up Treatise on Friendship, not the friendship attaches upon the benefits. In further, he thought the friendship could bring us the material benefits, but friends love each other not for the benefits, because the entire profits already in the love itself¹.

Third, Cicero enumerated the principles of making friends.

According to Cicero, friendship cannot exist except among good men². Therefore being a good man is the precondition to build up a true friendship. If there is no virtue, then there is no friendship. He was aware of a rule that good men love and join themselves to other good men, in a union which is almost that of relationship and nature³. On account of the importance of virtue, Cicero made a law for friendship, that is do not ask your friend to do bad thing, if your friends ask you to do it, then you should refuse. In other words, ask of friends only what is honorable; do for friends only what is honorable and without even waiting to be asked; let zeal be ever present, but hesitation absent⁴.

And a true friend should dare to give true advice with all frankness; in friendship let the influence of friends who are wise counselors be paramount, and let that influence be employed in advising, not only with frankness, but, if the occasion demands, even with sternness, and let the advice be followed when given⁵.

In addition, friendship is a narrow connection, and it has been so narrowed that the bonds of affection always united two persons only, or, at most, a few⁶. Just like Matteo Ricci expressed in Treatise on Friendship, if someone has so many friends, then he has none⁷.

In adversity, the duty of a friend is to share the dangers with friends⁸. Dangerous circumstance is the chance to test a friend.

¹ *De Amicitia*, IX. 31

² *De Amicitia*, V. 18.

³ *De Amicitia*, XIV. 50.

⁴ *De Amicitia*, XIII. 44.

⁵ *De Amicitia*, XIII. 44.

⁶ *De Amicitia*, V. 20.

⁷ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 75. Sentence 39.

⁸ *De Amicitia*, VII. 24.

Beside the parts mentioned above, Cicero's *Laelius de Amicitia* also talked about the following points:

Cicero emphasized the influence of virtue. For there is nothing more lovable than virtue, nothing that more allures us to affection, since on account of their virtue and uprightness we feel a sort of affection even for those whom we have never seen¹. And virtue set a limit to friendship; none could use friendship as an excuse to do the evil thing.

Cicero realized the real friendship is eternal, because it is based on nature which is unchangeable². On the contrary, if the friendship is maintained by the material advantages, when the material advantages change, then the friendship will be influenced.

The fragileness of friendship is also realized by Cicero, so many factors could affect the friendship, such as the conflicts of interest, the different political views, even the change of one's character. Thus he drew a conclusion that nothing was harder than for a friendship to continue to the very end of life³.

At last, through Laelius's mouth, he encouraged people to esteem virtue, because virtue both creates the bond of friendship and preserves it⁴. Except virtue, you will think nothing more excellent than friendship⁵.

3.3.3 *The encounter and interaction of Confucian and Greco-Roman thought*

The most part of Matteo Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* is correspondent with Cicero's *Laelius de Amicitia*. Cicero and Ricci provided a guidebook about friendship aiming at offering good advices to us. With the help of their books, people could enjoy the pleasure of friendship and learn how to maintain friendship in a long time. Except Cicero's view of friendship, the Confucian thought also influenced Ricci's

¹ *De Amicitia*, VIII. 28.

² *De Amicitia*, XI. 32.

³ *De Amicitia*, X. 33.

⁴ *De Amicitia*, XXVII. 100.

⁵ *De Amicitia*, XXVII. 104.

essay. It could be said that, through Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*, the Greco-Roman thought and the Confucian thought encountered and achieved a collision and interaction. This encounter and interaction are mainly reflected in the following aspects:

First of all, Cicero and Confucius both emphasized the significance of friendship. Confucius regarded friendship as a beneficial hobby; Cicero considered friendship as the most precious gift from gods except wisdom. On this point, Matteo Ricci totally agreed with Cicero. He said that friendship is the precious property, the world without friendship just like the sky without sun¹.

But a difference must be mentioned. Even though the Confucian doctrine talked about friendship's importance, but among five groups of relationships, the friendship still was listed at the last one. Obviously, according to Confucian doctrine, the importance of friendship is no more than other four groups. In the late Ming Dynasty, the intellectuals tried to elevate the position of friendship, thus, Ricci's view of friendship become their theoretical support. This is the difference between Confucianism and Cicero's view.

Second, the function of friendship

According to Confucius, the main function of friendship is to help people cultivate his morality and benevolence². Friendship is a tool to achieve Confucius' ideal, making friends with virtuous person is the way to practice benevolence and virtue. Cicero believed that friendship come from nature herself, was created by virtue, and was preserved by virtue. Except the material benefits, making friends is a spiritual desire and an instinctive impulse. Matteo Ricci absorbed the essence from them both. He stressed that friendship is the motivation of helping us to improve and the spiritual food for our heart. Ricci said that a friend can be beneficial to you, just like an enemy can be harmful to you.

Third, the principal of making friends

¹ M. Ricci, a cura di F. Mignini, *Dell'amicizia*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 2005. p. 89. Sentence 79.

² Confucius, Yang Bojun (edits), *Translation and Annotation of the Analects*, Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980. p. 236.

Confucian doctrine pointed out that friends should be honest to each other. Cicero also made honest become a law of friendship. They all mentioned that a true friend should get through the test. In adversity, friends should share the dangers and face the difficulties together.

In addition, a true friend needs to give advice without hesitation, at the same time; a true friend needs to accept advice from friends.

In terms of the standard of choosing friends, Confucius advocated that one should make friends with people who are virtuous than himself. In consequence, under encourage of friends, one can improve himself, and finally catch up with friends. As for Cicero, he thought true friendship exists only between the good men. Hence virtue is the base of building up friendship.

Confucius and Cicero provided so many principles and rules to construct our behaviors. For this part, these two theoretical systems share so many things in common. And their thoughts are almost manifested in Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*.

Fourth, the relationship between virtue (morality) and friendship

'Benevolence' is the core idea of Confucianism, which runs through all the Confucian doctrines. Confucius regarded 'benevolence' as the crucial criterion of choosing friends. In the process of making friends, obey the rule of benevolence was the highest rule of conduct. In further, benevolence also was the finality of friendship. Only the friends with virtue could help each other to practice benevolence.

In Cicero's opinion, virtue creates and preserves friendship. However, nothing can be beyond of virtue, including friendship. Friendship is not an excuse to violate virtue and morality. True friendship is based on virtue; therefore, it will not ask us to do bad things.

With regard to this aspect, Ricci inherited both Confucian doctrine and Cicero's theory. Speaking about the relationship between virtue and friendship, the Confucian doctrine and Cicero's thought are highly accord with each other.

To sum up, the Confucian view of friendship and Cicero's friendship theory made a convergence in Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*. Cicero's *Laelius De Amicitia* is the main source origin of Ricci's essay, thus, his main opinions about friendship were

expressed through Ricci. In 1599, Ricci as a missionary who lived in China more ten years, he already learnt the Confucian classics, and realized that such an ethical work should follow the Confucian tradition, focusing on the instructive function. Ricci's book told people how to choose friends, how to judge friends, and how to maintain friendship. Compared with Cicero's *De Amicitia*, the construction of theory system was not the key point of Ricci's essay. Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship* is a handbook rather than a theoretical work. Cicero discussed a lot about friendship's origins and nature. This part needs the strict logic and theory system. On the contrary, Ricci's book is lack of logic, he probably picked up those pieces he thought useful, or he still remembered. In the elaboration of his view, Ricci absorbed the thought of 'benevolence' from Confucianism. He confirmed the strength of virtue and morality, and admitted morality was the foundation of friendship.

3.4 Conclusion

In 1583 Matteo Ricci arrived at Zhao Qing to start his missionary enterprise in China. He was a Jesuit who was well educated in science and humanities. After more than ten years study, he became Li Madou (the Chinese way to call his name) and XiTai, a western scholar who mastered Chinese and Confucian doctrine. The science and technology brought by him had profound impacts on the Chinese society. Therefore, the scholars made a consensus that he opened the historical process of 'Western Learning'. In his missionary experience, on accordance with Valignano's cultural accommodation strategy, Ricci never ceased to study Chinese and Confucian philosophy. Ricci had Chinese name, he dressed like Confucian literati; he spoke Chinese; he wrote in Chinese; even he studied Confucian philosophy. Twelve years after he entered China, Ricci wrote his first ethical book in Chinese. This treatise on Friendship achieved a huge success. The Confucian literati praised Ricci for his understanding of Confucian doctrine. This book rapidly became popular, the Chinese literati were eager to read it, to spread it, even to transcribe it.

The success of this treatise proved Ricci's profound understanding of Chinese

society and culture. Getting through a tough period in China, Ricci knew that if he wanted to be accepted by the Chinese literati, dressing like them, and speaking in Chinese were not enough. In order to gain an equal opportunity to communicate with the Chinese literati, he needed express his wisdom on the ethical field. Philosophy, especially the moral philosophy was the highest knowledge in the view of Chinese literati. Hence Ricci wanted to reduce the distance with Chinese scholars with the help of ethical books.

After a deep consideration, Ricci selected friendship as the subject of his book. This treatise was a collection of seventy six (later on was added to 100) maxims. The western philosophers' sentences became the main origine of his writing. Among all the sources Cicero's *Laelius de Amicitia* was the most important one. Ricci deliberately selected some maxims which were in accord with the Confucian doctrine in order to express the affinity between thesen two thoughts. In this way, he could prove that the affinity between the West and the East was not only manifested in ethical field. If the Chinese people could accept his ethical theory, why they could not accept the Christianity?

Ricci's humanistic education was fully expressed in his treatise, at the same time the influences of Confucian doctrine penetrated into his discussion and literal expression. Therefore, the Greco-Roman thought and Confucian thought encountered and interacted in Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*.

Despite the divergence of these two ideologies, many common concepts were shared by them in the subject of friendship.

The Greco-Roman thought and Confucian thought both admitted the significance of friendship, and considered virtue as the highest standard whether for selecting a friend or for maintaining a friend. More importantly, involving the principles of making friends, the same requests were proposed by both sides, such as being loyalty to your friends, offering advices, cherishing old friends, testing friends in adversity, not abandoning friends and so on. Generally speaking, The Greco-Roman thought and Confucian thought gave almost the same guide in making and maintaining friends. So many common rules and principles should be followed according to them.

Exactly because of the affinity between these two ideologies in ethical field, this treatise was more acceptable for Chinese people. And Ricci finally entered the spiritual world of the Confucian literati.

Treatise on Friendship is the first ethical book of Ricci, later on he wrote *Twenty Five Sentences* (1605) and *Ten Paradoxes* (1608). *Twenty Five Sentences* is a collection of dialogues between Chinese scholars and Matteo Ricci. Actually *Twenty Five sentences* is a re-elaboration of Epictetus's handbook, in which Matteo Ricci elaborated the Stoic theory. The last ethical book by Ricci was finished in 1608; the form of dialogue was maintained in *Ten Paradoxes* recording the dialogues between seven Ming Dynasty Confucian scholars and Ricci. They discussed topics concerning the concept of time, life, the view of death and self-constraint etc. In this work, Ricci drew heavily on Aesop's fables, Bible stories and famous saying of philosophers, and so the Chinese scholars established contacts with the substance of western classical culture and philosophy.

Thus, *Treatise on Friendship*, *Twenty Five sentences*, and *Ten Paradoxes*, are characterized by an inherent continuity, manifesting that Ricci tried to promote his ideas through the ethical and moral dimensions. In these books, he examined and understood the traditional Chinese Confucian culture from a Greco-Roman and humanistic perspective, while his cultural accommodation strategy made it inevitable for his writings to be influenced by Chinese traditional culture.

In this essay, I try to analyze the encounter and interaction of Greco-Roman thought and Confucian thought in Matteo Ricci's *Treatise on Friendship*, and later on I will continue this research with Matteo Ricci's other ethical books in my PHD study.

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